LPHIN IN THE LITERATURE
RT OF GREECE AND ROME

BY
EUNICE BURR STEBBINS

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE BOARD OF UNIVERSITY STUDIES
OF THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY IN CONFORMITY WITH
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
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TABLE OF CONTENTS

		Pages
Introduction		vii
Chapter I.	The Nature of the Dolphin	1
Chapter II.	Types of the Dolphin in Art. Conventions in the Representation of the Dolphin in Art	9
Chapter III.	The Dolphin in Minoan Art	19
Chapter IV.	Helladic and Cycladic Art. The Art of Cyprus	36
Chapter V.	Geometric Art	52
Chapter VI.	The Dolphin in Legend and Literature	59
Chapter VII.	The Dolphin in Art and in Archaeological Remains of the Historical Periods of Greece and Rome	97
Conclusion		129
Index		132

INTRODUCTION

The dolphin, which plays so large a rôle in the literature and art of Greece and Rome, has been for the most part taken for granted, and has received very scant attention from scholars. A monograph by Paul Biedermann entitled *Der Delphin in der Phantasie und bildenden Kunst der Griechen und Roemer* was published in Halle in 1881, and is occasionally quoted. It is not available to American scholars, however, as it is not found in the greater libraries, and is out of print in Germany. Four other German scholars have also done a certain amount of work on the dolphin. The standard reference is found in Keller's *Thiere des classischen Alterthums*, or in his later work *Die antike Tierwelt*. Welcker, in his *Kleine Schriften*, Vol. I, includes a study entitled *Der Delphin des Arion und die Kraniche des Ibykus*, which contains within brief compass a review of the important tales about the dolphin, and a collection of references to the dolphin in literature has been made by Stephani in the *Compte-rendu* of the Imperial Russian Archaeological Society for 1864. Finally, Usener, in *Die Sintfluthsagen*, traces the development of the dolphin-rider myths, attributing them to a Hellenic origin, a theory which has been followed in the present thesis rather than that of Keller, who argues a Phoenician origin of the same tales.

The indebtedness of the present work, more particularly in the chapter on the Dolphin in Legend and Literature, to the writings of Keller, Welcker, Stephani, and especially to those of Usener is as great as it is inevitable, since the material was all known and ably used by these scholars. In the use of material from the classical periods of the art of Greece and Rome there is also a certain similarity, again inevitable, to Keller and Usener. The first five chapters, however, are based for the most part upon the results of excavations and studies of more recent date, and accordingly have received the more exhaustive treatment.

The examples of the dolphin in art have been taken, with one or two exceptions, from museums or publications which are readily accessible. This fact, it is hoped, will excuse the absence of illustrations from the text.

CHAPTER I

THE NATURE OF THE DOLPHIN

The dolphin, which appears in the literature of Greece and Rome, and which is represented in almost every field of art throughout antiquity, is commonly assumed to be *Delphinus delphis*,[1] a sea mammal whose tameness and playful leaping and bounding out of the water have made it familiar and dear to man, so that it has been from the earliest times a part of the material upon which he draws for his artistic expression.

The three most important classical sources for the natural history of the dolphin are Aristotle,[2] Pliny,[3] and Aelian.[4] A comparison of these writings with those of such modern biologists as Lydekker[5] and Racovitza[6] will serve to bring out the power of observation displayed in the Aristotelian works and at the same time to indicate the mass of folklore and misinformation which gathered around the dolphin in antiquity. This has even crept into Aristotle's work, though it is usually subordinated to the scientific observations, while Pliny and Aelian make freer use of it, and it usurps the writings of the lesser naturalists such as Oppian.

Aristotle classified the whales, porpoises and dolphins as cetacea, *τὰ κήτη οἷον δελφὶς καὶ φώκαινα καὶ φάλαινα*,[7] using the term in its original meaning.[8] We know today that cetacea are land mammals, which by adaptation have become dwellers in the seas whence they obtain their food[9], a duality which Aristotle sensed when he wrote of the difficulty of classifying dolphins as either land or water animals.[10] But while confined to the water for purposes of feeding

[1] Keller, *Thiere des classischen Altertums*, Innsbruck, 1887, 211. *Cf.* also Wellmann, in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopaedie*, IV, 2504.

[2] *De Animalium Historia*, ed. Dittmeyer, Leipzig, 1907; *De Partibus Animalium*, ed. Langkavel, Leipzig, 1868; *Parva Naturalia*, ed. Biehl, Leipzig, 1898.

[3] *Naturalis Historia*, IX, ed. Mayhoff, Leipzig, 1909.

[4] *De Natura Animalium*, ed. Hercher, Leipzig, 1864.

[5] British Museum (Natural History), *Guide to the Whales, Porpoises, and Dolphins (Order Cetacea)*, London, 1909.

[6] Emile G. Racovitza, *A Summary of General Observations on the Spouting and Movements of Whales*. Translated by Frederick W. True, in *Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution*, 1903, 627–645.

[7] Arist. *H.A.* 521 b.

[8] *Cf.* Liddell and Scott, *any sea-monster or huge fish.*

[9] Racovitza, *op. cit.* p.627.

[10] Arist. *H.A.* 589 b.

and locomotion, dolphins have retained the land mammals' lungs, and accordingly are compelled to rise to the surface to breathe air,[11] which they receive through a modified nostril or blow-hole situated in the right side of the head.[12] Aristotle recognizes the fact that cetacea, including the dolphin, possess not gills,[13] but "a lung"[14] and that they rise to the surface to take in air through a tube (*αὐλός*)[15] or blow-hole (*φυσητήρ*),[16] terms which he evidently employs as synonyms, but he falls into the error of believing that the blow-hole is also for the purpose of ejecting water taken in with food,[17] and even writes that while sleeping the dolphin holds its snout out of the water in order to breathe.[18] This statement frustrates any possible belief in an Aristotelian anticipation of Racovitza's demonstration of the protuberance of the blow-hole above the surface of the water while the body of the cetacean that is coming up to breathe is still submerged,[19] which might otherwise have been read into the the words:[20] *δελφὶς δὲ καὶ φάλαινα, καὶ ὅσα αὐλὸν ἔχει, ὑπερέχοντα τὸν αὐλὸν καθεύδει τῆς θαλάττης.* In *De Animalibus Historia*, Aristotle places the blow-hole in the dolphin's back, and in the whale's forehead.[21] In *Parva Naturalia* he states that it is in front of the brain in all animals equipped with blow-holes.[22] In spite of the keenness he shows in separating the cetacea from the tribe of fish, and in recognizing that they receive air into lungs instead of using gills, it is evident that Aristotle is hampered in his observation of cetacea by his memory of the breathing habits and organs of animals on land. On the other hand, he has, we may suppose unconsciously, recorded the exact process of the breathing of a submerged dolphin, which is the method any land mammal uses under water, only that in the case of dolphins and other cetacea the periods when the breath is held are

[11] Racovitza, *op. cit.* p.627.

[12] Lydekker, *op. cit.* p.31.

[13] Arist. *H.A.* 489 b; 566 b; 589 b; *De Partib. Anim.* 697 a; *Parva Nat.* 476 b.

[14] Arist. *H.A.* 506 b; 536 a; 566 b; 589 b; *De Partib. Anim.* 697 a; *Parva Nat.* 476 b.

[15] Arist. *H.A.* 489 b; 537 b; 589 b; *De Partib. Anim.* 697 b; *Parva Nat.* 476 b.

[16] Arist. *H.A.* 566 b.

[17] Arist. *H.A.* 589 b; *De Partib. Anim.* 697 a; *Parva Nat.* 476 b. *Cf.* Racovitza, *op. cit.* p. 632, on the separation of food from water by whales when feeding.

[18] Arist. *H.A.* 566 b; 589 b; *Parva Nat.* 476 b. Modern biologists are not certain that dolphins sleep. *Cf.* Lydekker, *op. cit.* p. 9, and Racovitza, *op. cit.* pp. 641–643.

[19] Racovitza, *op. cit.* p.628, states that this applies to whales and possibly not to porpoises.

[20] Arist. *H.A.* 537 a–b.

[21] *Ibid.* 489 b.

[22] *Parva Nat.* 476 b.

longer.[23] In this instance he has even helped out his description by comparing the dolphin to a diver.[24] Aristotle's interest is not, however, in the breathing processes, but in the incredible tales of the swiftness of this "swiftest of all animals, both of those in the sea and those on land." He tells one of these stories when he relates how the dolphin that has dived too deep in pursuit of its prey, becomes so suffocated that it returns to the air as if shot like an arrow, and will even leap over the masts of a ship, if one happens to be standing by.[25]

Pliny, in two sentences, sums up Aristotle's observations on the breathing of whales and dolphins: they have no gills; they breathe with a tube connected with the lung, and which in whales is situated in the forehead, in dolphins at the back.[26] Pliny evidently did not read the *Parva Naturalia*.

Aelian, much less interested in fact than in folklore, mentions the breathing of the porpoise, (which he recognizes as like the dolphin) not through gills but a blow-hole. "For this men call the passage of the lung."[27]

The spouting of cetaceans was known to the ancients, although Keller[28] remarks that the fact that dolphins spray water straight into the air from a blow-hole between the eyes is seldom noted except by naturalists. Racovitza[29] has shown that the exhalations of cetacea do not occur before the blow-hole has been exposed to the air, and that accordingly, spray which is visible when whales spout is not water but vapor. The visibility of the vapor would not be great in so small a cetacean as the dolphin, and the brief time it lasts would contribute to its failure to strike the eye.[30] Aristotle describes the spouting of water by dolphins,[31] and Pliny tells of the spouting of whales.[32] The poets mention the spouting of dolphins.[33] Keller also calls attention to a gem decorated with a spouting dolphin.[34] It

[23] *Cf.* Racovitza, *op. cit.* pp.627–628.

[24] Arist. *H.A.* 631 a.

[25] *Ibid.*

[26] Pliny, *N. H.* IX, 19.

[27] Aelian, *Nat. An.* V, 4. *Cf.* also II, 52.

[28] *Op. cit.* p.235.

[29] *Op. cit.* pp.628–636.

[30] Racovitza, *op. cit.* p.628, "As to the porpoises the duration of their spout does not exceed two seconds."

[31] Arist. *H. A.* 589 b.

[32] Pliny, *N. H.* IX, 8.

[33] Hesiod, *Aspis*, 211–212; Ovid, *Metam.* III, 686; Philes, *Versus de Animalium Proprietate*, in *Poetae Bucolici et Didactici*, ed. Duebner, Paris, 1862, p.37, No. 86.

[34] *Cf.* Mueller-Wieseler, *Denkmaeler der alten Kunst*, II, 53, 672, quoted in Keller, *op. cit.* p.430, note 286.

appears from the sources that the ancients believed that cetacea in general and dolphins in particular spouted water and not, as Racovitza has shown, vapor.

Aristotle classifies the dolphins and other cetacea as mammals, calling them viviparous,[35] and describing the nourishment of the young, of which there are one or two at a time,[36] with the mother's milk.[37] He states that full growth is attained in the tenth year, and that some have been known to live twenty-five or thirty years, being identifiable by their mutilated tails.[38] This probably belongs to folklore, but is given here because it appears in Aristotle and in Pliny's[39] quotations from Aristotle. Aelian quotes Aristotle to the effect that dolphins are viviparous.[40] The maternal affection of the dolphin for its young has given rise to many anecdotes, some of which are found in Aristotle, but which will be postponed to a chapter on folklore. It is probably true, however, that dolphins swim in schools, the larger protecting the young.[41]

No complete description of the physical appearance of the dolphin is given in the ancient writers, but certain details are found both in the literature and art of Greece and Rome, which are of interest in a comparative study of the descriptions given by modern biologists.

Delphinus delphis does not grow over ten feet in length.[42] The salient features of its head are the round brain case[43] with the fatty cushion in front of the blow-hole, and the long beak.[44] At the point where these meet there is a V-shaped groove.[45] The mouth or beak is adapted to snatching prey, as it is long and furnished with forty to sixty pairs of teeth in either jaw.[46] Aristotle, however, says that the mouth of the dolphin, like that of the shark, is underneath so that the dolphin must turn over upon its back to catch its prey, which thus has a chance to escape the swiftness and rapacity of the pursuer.[47]

[35] Arist. *H. A.* 489 b; 521 b; 566 b.
[36] *Ibid.* 566 b.
[37] *Ibid.* 504 b; Aelian, *Nat. An.* X, 8.
[38] Arist. *H.A.* 566 b.
[39] Pliny, *N.H.* IX, 22.
[40] Aelian, *Nat. An.* II, 52; X, 8.
[41] Arist. *H.A.* 631 a; Aelian, *Nat. An.* X, 8. *Cf.* Lydekker, *op. cit.* p. 10.
[42] Lydekker, *op. cit.* p.32.
[43] *Ibid.* p.9.
[44] *Ibid.* p.32.
[45] *Ibid.* p.32.
[46] *Ibid.* p.38.
[47] Arist. *H.A.* 591 b; *De Partib. Animal.* 696 b.

He is quoted almost verbatim by Pliny.[48] There is another tradition current in the art and literature of antiquity, which cannot be overlooked, namely, that the dolphin was thought of on occasion as σιμός, which is generally interpreted as snub-nosed. Pliny tells of dolphins being summoned or called by the nickname Simo,[49] but his description included in the Teubner text, "*rostrum simum*," is not found in the MSS.[50] The beak of the dolphin was turned up in art of a very early period,[51] and it may be that the tradition started with the artistic convention. Unless the Arion Hymn is considered to be of an early date, the expression σιμός, as applied to the dolphin, does not occur in literature before the Fourth Century.[52] Examples of snub-nosed dolphins are the rule in Hellenistic and Graeco-Roman art. A simpler explanation of the term σιμός, as applied to the dolphin, was, however, suggested by Dr. E. W. Gudger of the American Museum of Natural History, when he described the animal as "pug-headed," *i.e.* as having a bulbous forehead. This is preferable to interpreting the meaning of σιμός in connection with the dolphin as "snub" or "pug-nosed," as it can be traced to a peculiarity actually existing in nature, rather than to early tradition in art, and is, moreover, not inconsistent with the meaning of the word in Greek.[53] Amelung[54] compares the application of the nickname σιμός, meaning "snub-nosed", to satyrs and dolphins alike, but it is to be noted that σιμός, meaning "pug-headed", or with a bulbous forehead, can be applied equally well to satyrs as to dolphins.[55]

The head-line melts gradually into the back-line of the dolphin, without the visible intervention of a neck.[56] Towards the centre of the back is a sickle-shaped[57] dorsal fin, consisting of skin and fibrous tissue,[58] which probably serves to keep the animal's equilibrium

[48] Pliny, *N.H.* IX, 20.

[49] *Ibid.* 23; 25.

[50] *Ibid.* 23.

[51] *Cf.* the Proto-Attic Nessus Amphora, *Antike Denkmaeler*, I, Pl. 57.

[52] *Cf.* Arion, in Bergk, *Poetae Lyrici Graeci*, III, 80, 7; Isidor, *Etymologiae*, ed. Lindsay, Oxford, XII, 6, 11; Solinus, ed. Mommsen, Berlin, 1864, 12, 5; Livius Andronicus, ed. Lucian Mueller, Berlin, 1885, 5, in addition to the reference in Pliny, *N.H.* See note 49 above.

[53] *Cf.* Liddell and Scott, *II. metaph. bent upwards, like the curved slope of a hillside.*

[54] *Satyrs Ritt durch die Wellen*, p.5, in *Strena Helbigiana*, Leipzig, 1900.

[55] *Cf.* Furtwaengler u. Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, Pl. 7, where the satyr has both the bulbous forehead and the pug-nose.

[56] *Cf.* Lydekker, *op. cit.* p.39, fig. 28.

[57] *Ibid.* p.38.

[58] *Ibid.* p.8.

in the water. This back-fin was occasionally thought of as a fish-fin composed of rays and membrane. Pliny tells us that the dolphin that carried the Boy of Puteoli to school sheathed its spines before it let him mount its back.[59] He also informs us of a species of dolphin in the Nile, which kills crocodiles by disemboweling them with a knife-like back-fin.[60] Aelian's version of the Boy riding the Dolphin relates how the Boy met his death by flinging himself exuberantly upon his play-fellow's back, and being stabbed by the sharp back-fin.[61]

The front legs and paws of the original land mammal have been modified to flippers which hang on either side, forward.[62] The hind-legs and paws are rudimentary, even in the skeleton. Aristotle calls the dolphin "footless."[63]

There is a good-sized tail divided by a deep indentation into flukes which are placed exactly the opposite from those of a fish, owing to the fact that the dolphin's movements are chiefly upwards and downwards in relation to its needs in breathing, while fishes' movements are chiefly forward or sideways.[64] In other words the dolphin's flukes are horizontal, a fact not recognized in art until a comparatively late period.

There is a convention which is found in Cretan art of the fine period (M.M. III) and in classical Greek art, which should be mentioned at this point. It is the setting off of the fluked tail from the body by a ball-shaped member.[65] This member is not found in the dolphin. Dr. F. A. Lucas of the American Museum of Natural History has called attention to the fact that, at the point of juncture of the flukes and the body in the region called the "small," the tissues are produced into two ridges standing vertically, one on the dorsal, one on the ventral surface. This constitutes a strengthening of the propelling tail, and gives the appearance of two curved lines intersecting at right angles, *i.e.* the vertical line of the back and belly

[59] Pliny, *N.H.* IX, 25. *Cf.* also Solinus, XII, 4–5.

[60] *Ibid.* VIII, 91–92.

[61] Aelian, *Nat. An.* VI, 15. The word ἄκανθα is used for the spike of the fin. In Arist. *H.A.* 516 b, and *De Partib. Animal.* 655 a, this word is used to indicate the layman's idea of fish-bones as contrasted with his idea of animal bones: ἔχει δὲ καὶ ὁ δελφὶς ὀστᾶ, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἄκανθαν. (*H.A.* 516 b.)

[62] *Cf.* Lydekker, *op. cit.* p.8.

[63] Arist. *H.A.* 509 b; *Parva Nat.* 476 b.

[64] Lydekker, *op. cit.* pp.7 and 9.

[65] *Cf.* the burial jars from Pachyammos, Seager, *Pachyammos*, p. 23, Pl. XIV. For an example of the convention in classical Greek art, *cf.* the coins of Syracuse, Macdonald, *Greek Coins in the Hunterian Collection*, I, Pl. XVI, 9.

and the horizontal line of the flukes. Dr. Lucas suggests that the ball-shaped member may have originated in some artist's attempt to express this strengthening of the tail. However, the perpetuation of its use to such an extent that it becomes one of the conventions in the representation of dolphins in art rests, in all probability, upon the successful effect produced by using a transitional member between the long curve of the back and the abrupt curves of the tail.

The dolphin is without hair.[66] Aristotle implies[67] and Pliny states this fact.[68] Its coloring is for low visibility near the surface of the water, in that it is dark on top and light underneath,[69] and so it is frequently represented in art.[70]

In dolphins "the aperture of the ear is minute and without any vestige of a conch."[71] This would account for Aristotle's statement that they have no visible organs of hearing.[72] At the same time he describes their sensitiveness to sound, which causes loud noises to stupify them. It is the fabulous accounts of this sense which, together with the dolphin's reputation for exceeding swiftness, represent the two qualities most employed by the poets when they use the attractive sea-creature in their figures. Nowhere, however, is the swiftness of the dolphin more strikingly described than in the words of the naturalist Pliny '*ocior volucre, acrior telo*.'[73]

Aristotle tells us that the dolphin snores while sleeping.[74] He further states that it has a shrill cry and also moans, but that it lacks lips and a detached tongue which constitute the vocal organ.[75] Pliny,[76] followed by Solinus,[77] writes that the dolphin moans like a human being, and also that it has a mobile tongue. Racovitza describes the noise of the dolphin's spout as scarcely perceptible, but adds that certain porpoises may produce definite sounds.[78] Aristotle, and after him Aelian, considers the porpoise as a kind of dolphin.[79]

[66] Lydekker, *op. cit.* p.8.
[67] Artist. *H. A.* 489 b; 521 b.
[68] Pliny, *N.H.* IX, 40; 43.
[69] Lydekker, *op. cit.* p.10.
[70] *Cf. Antiquités Crét. 3e Sér.*, Pl. XI.
[71] Lydekker, *op. cit.* p.8.
[72] Arist. *H.A.* 533 b; 534 b.
[73] Pliny, *N.H.* IX, 20.
[74] Arist. *H.A.* 537 b; *Parva Nat.* 476 b.
[75] Arist. *H.A.* 535 b-536 a.
[76] Pliny, *N.H.* IX, 23.
[77] Solinus, XII, 5.
[78] Racovitza, *op. cit.* p.629.
[79] Arist. *H.A.* 566 b; Aelian, *Nat. An.* V, 4.

The ancients fished for the dolphin, although it was in some cases held sacred.[80] Aristotle illustrates the breathing of dolphins by stating that they smother if they are caught in a net and are unable to get to the surface for fresh air.[81] The dolphin was also speared with a trident.[82] There is no statement in ancient literature that it was fished with a hook and line, but on a red-figured cylix by the Ambrosios-Painter in the Boston Museum, a boy is shown angling from a rock; in the sea below are a variety of fish including two unmistakable, if diminutive, dolphins, one of which has been caught.[83] The salting of dolphin meat is mentioned by Xenophon,[84] and Galen, who calls it hard[85] and unwholesome.[86]

It will be seen that though there are numerous discrepancies in details, the ancient naturalists, following Aristotle, have described a dolphin which may be identified with the *Delphinus delphis* of modern biology. Ancient literature and art bring up many instances to show, however, that the dolphin was, in the eyes of the people, a fish, just as it is today.

Unfortunately, there is in the English popular nomenclature a fish, *Coryphaena hippurus*,[87] which goes by the name of Common Dolphin, and is not to be confused with *Delphinus delphis*. Nor is it to be supposed that it was considered by the ancients as in any way related to, or interchangeable with, *Delphinus delphis*, although it is found in the Mediterranean.[88] It is more likely that the name "dolphin" may have been first applied to the fish by English sailors who met with it in tropic seas, and called it after the familiar animal of their home waters, in the same way that the commonest variety of thrush in this country was christened "Robin Red-breast" by homesick pilgrims, in memory of a similar songster of a different species which they had left behind in England.

[80] Athenaeus, VII, 282 e; Oppian, *Halieutica*, V, 416.

[81] Arist. *H.A.* 589 b.

[82] Aelian, *Nat. An.* I, 18.

[83] Hartwig, *Meisterschalen*, Pl. V; Beazley, *Attische Vasenmaler*, Tuebingen, 1925, p.39.

[84] *Anabasis*, V, 4, 28.

[85] Galen, *De Alimentorum Facultatibus*, ed. G. Helmreich, in *Corpus Medicorum Graecorum*, III, §30, 3–4.

[86] Galen, *Ibid.* III, §36.

[87] *Cf.* Jordan, *Fishes*, New York, 1907, pp.501–2.

[88] Carus, in *Prodromus Faunae Mediterraneae*, III, Pars 3, *Vertebrata*, Stuttgart, 1893, pp.665 ff., gives the habitat of *Coryphaena hippurus*, which includes the Mediterranean, Adriatic, and Aegean Seas. He also quotes the common names of this fish in the different localities. No name has, however, any etymological affinity to δελφίς or *delphinus*.

CHAPTER II

TYPES OF THE DOLPHIN IN ART. CONVENTIONS IN THE REPRESENTATION OF THE DOLPHIN IN ART

Before undertaking the detailed study of the dolphin in the different fields of art in which it appears, it seems well to set down the general types into which it falls, and to speak of some of the more important conventions which govern the delineation of its form, as well as of the factors which determine its identification as a dolphin in doubtful cases. The types will all be taken from the historical periods of Greek and Roman art, that is, they will not include Cretan or Mycenaean dolphins, which will be seen to fall within the classical types very readily.

Two things should be borne in mind while considering the types of dolphin:

1. Its form in nature; *i.e.*, it is an aquatic animal about ten feet long with a pointed beak about twice the length of its rounded brain case. It has a large sickle-shaped dorsal fin, two rather narrow sickle-shaped padldes or flippers, no gills, and a tail divided into flukes, set horizontally.

2. In the popular mind the dolphin was a fish.

When the aspect of the dolphin in nature is recalled, and compared with the appearance of the accepted type of dolphin in art, a type which presumably constitutes the mental picture of the dolphin in the case of all who are not trained zoologists, the discrepancy between the animal in nature and in convention is so striking that it at first awakens a doubt as to whether the representation in art may be called a dolphin at all.

It is, therefore, fortunate that we have as a starting-point in the study of types a Black-Figured cylix by Execias,[1] upon which there is a representation of creatures that can, with reasonable surety, be identified as dolphins, for the picture as a whole is agreed to illustrate one phase or another of the Dionysus myth, and therefore corresponds to a literary record. The god is shown sitting in a sail-boat, from which springs a grape-vine, and which is surrounded by seven sea-animals, that we may take to be dolphins, basing our assumption upon the Homeric Hymn to Dionysus as a literary counterpart to the vase picture. In this Hymn, Tyrrhenian pirates

[1] Furtwaengler-Reichhold, I, Pl. 42.

capture the god as he stands upon the sea-shore, and take him upon their ship. Whereupon he manifests himself to them by various miracles, including the vine-clad sail and ivy-twined mast, and fear so overcomes the pirates that they leap into the sea and are changed into dolphins. Furtwaengler[2] interprets the vase picture in terms of Dionysus, bringer of the vine to man, rather than as an illustration of the Homeric Hymn, and Usener[3] explains it as an illustration of the Epiphany of Dionysus, bringer of the blessings of spring, but adds later[4] that the story of the Tyrrhenian pirates was originally a part of the legend of the Epiphany of Dionysus as told on the islands of Naxos and Euboea. Thus the interpretations of the Execias cylix by Furtwaengler and by Usener are connected with the story in the Homeric Hymn,[5] and we are safe in assuming, again with Furtwaengler and Usener, that the sea-animals in the picture are dolphins. With this identification reasonably assured, it now becomes possible to examine the animals, to discuss them in their relation to the anatomy of the dolphin in nature, and to establish them as a type in art from which other types, both antedating and postdating the Execias cylix, may be determined.

The first thing that will be noted is that they are very small in comparison with the god who may be thought of as life-size. The tails are set vertically and are a very delicate sickle in shape. The back fin springs from the top of the head like the crest of a bird instead of rising from the centre of the back like a rudder. Pectoral fins are drawn against the black background of the body. The flippers are omitted. The gills are indicated by a line. A horizontal stripe traverses the body from the region of the gill to the tail. The body is elongated, thicker toward the head and tapering to almost nothing at the tail. The ventral line is concave, the dorsal is convex. The beak is long and pointed. The V-shaped groove which sets it off from the fatty cushion in front of the brain-case is indicated by a line. The eye is outlined and is round.

The very simple type of the Execias cylix is continued in the Red-Figured plate by the Menon-Painter in the Boston Museum of Fine

[2] Furtwaengler-Reichhold, *Text, Ser. I*, p. 228.

[3] *Sintfluthsagen*, Bonn, 1899, p. 116.

[4] *Ibid.* p.124.

[5] The fact that the vase represents only two of the miracles related in the Hymn to Dionysus (ll. 34–53) does not affect its being considered as an illustration of the Hymn. To depict the kaleidoscopic changes of a god would be inartistic in a painting, although it does occur elsewhere (*cf.* Pottier, *Vases antiques du Louvre, 3e Sér.* Pl. 139, G 373), whereas it is effective in the medium of literature.

Arts.[6] The dolphins differ from Execias's only in that their crest-like dorsal fins are a little more curved, their eyes are made with a pupil, and the profile flukes are thicker with a deep circular indentation in the centre. The grasping of a dolphin by the tail in the manner depicted on this vase is a common characteristic in the representation of Nereids or other oceanic deities.

An interesting derivation of the Execias type is the dolphin with one fluke, always the ventral one, docked.[7]

Perhaps the finest dolphins in Fifth Century art are found on the beautiful decadrachms of Syracuse,[8] for while they have been designed with great artistic feeling, they have also been made in conformity with the natural anatomy of the dolphin, with the exception of one detail. It will be noticed that the dorsal fin and flippers are correctly modeled and placed, and that the flukes are horizontal. There is, however, the ball-shaped member between the tail and the body which does not exist in nature.[9] This may best be interpreted as a transitional member, used for the same effect as mouldings in architecture, that is, with the intention of modifying the otherwise abrupt change in contour which occurs at the juncture of lines carried out in opposing rhythms.

The dolphin lends itself to modification and artists take more and more liberty with it as time goes on. An interesting variant is the σιμός type which has already been discussed.[10] The literary references to this type are, with the exception of the Arion Hymn, found in the Latin writers, and are, therefore, contemporaneous with Graeco-Roman and even later art, while the Arion Hymn itself is no longer thought the work of him who, according to tradition, in the Seventh or Sixth Century B.C., gave the dithyramb its literary form, but of one who could not have written before Euripides.[11] In Hellenistic and Graeco-Roman sculpture, it became the fashion to use the dolphin as a statue prop, in which form it naturally came to answer to

[6] Beazley, *Attic Red-Figured Vases in American Museums*, Cambridge, Mass., 1918, 5, fig. I *bis*.

[7] *Ibid.* p. 39, fig. 22. Fish with this kind of tail must have been known to the ancients. There are several sharks which have it, and also the important Black Sea fish, the sturgeon. *Cf.* Jordan, *Fishes*, fig. 126, and Pl. opp. 256.

[8] G. F. Hill, *Coins of Ancient Sicily*, Frontispiece.

[9] *Cf.* p. 6, *supra*.

[10] *Cf.* pp. 5 ff., *supra*.

[11] Bergk, *Poetae Lyrici Graeci*, III, 80. *Cf.* also W. von Christ und W. Schmid, *Griechische Literaturgeschichte, Sechste Auflage*, Part I, in *Handbuch der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, ed. I. Mueller, VII, 1, Munich, 1912, p. 216, and note 4.

the descriptive term σιμός, as the obvious position for the animal was head-down, with the weight on the lower jaw. This required that the beak be bent forward, and there was a tendency to flatten, or snub it, in order to suit the exigencies of the composition.[12] Examples of the type are not, however, restricted to the statue prop or to the late periods. The tendency to draw curved lines instead of straight ones accounts for the upward bend in the beaks of the very fine dolphins on the Proto-Attic Nessus Amphora.[13]

In the Hellenistic and especially the Graeco-Roman periods the fantastic modifications of the dolphin knew no bounds. The tail would develop into a veritable acanthus leaf. There is frequently a kind of cock's comb around the eye, the flippers are pennate or fan-like, and the dorsal fin becomes an elaborate crest. Sometimes scales are added. The body is usually greatly elongated, and often curled into many volutes.[14]

It is quite simple to trace the general development of the dolphin from the Execias cylix, dating from about the third quarter of the Sixth Century[15] to its later flowery outgrowths, but it is a more difficult problem to work back from Execias to the primitive types of the Geometric style.

The Later Corinthian style of the late Seventh and early Sixth Century[16] furnishes two good examples of dolphins, the one a short and thick-set type, the other long and slender "as on the Attic vases."[17] Both of these have convex dorsal and concave ventral outlines, gills represented by incised lines, the beak set off by an incised line, round eyes with pupils, pectoral fins drawn upon the body. There are also back-fins, in the slender dolphin fairly true to nature in position and shape, but more crest-like in the thick-set dolphin, which has a second one towards the tail. Each dolphin has in addition two fins along the ventral outline. The tails of both have vertical flukes. The tail of the slender dolphin is set off from the body,not by a ball as in the

[12] *Cf.* the Medicean Venus in Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmaeler Griechischer und Roemischer Skulptur*, Munich, Pl. 374.

[13] *Antike Denkmaeler*, I, Pl. 57.

[14] *Cf.* the pair of dolphins sprouting horns of plenty from their crest-like dorsal fins, after a sketch of San Gallo from the Golden House of Nero, *Jahrb. Arch. Inst.* XXVIII, 1913, 200, fig. 48. *Cf.* also the group of Eros and the Dolphin in the Museo Nazionale in Naples, S. Reinach, *Répertoire de la Statuaire grecque et romaine*, Paris, 1897, Vol. I, 355, Pl. 646, No. 1468.

[15] E. Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen*, Munich, 1923, Vol. I, §269, p. 266.

[16] Fowler and Wheeler, *Handbook of Greek Archaeology*, New York, 1909, 449.

[17] Morin-Jean, *Le Dessin des animaux en Grèce d'après les vases peints*, Paris, 1911, 72, figs. 75 and 76.

Syracusan coins, but by two incised parallel lines across the "small", which serve the same purpose, that is, to break the transition from the long swinging dorsal and ventral outlines to the outline of the flukes which meet them at an angle.

The Earlier Corinthian style of the Seventh Century,[18] also furnishes examples of dolphins. There is in the Louvre an aryballus with a pair of dolphins in heraldic position forehead to forehead.[19] These are of the thick-set type, but the tails are set off by two parallel lines as in the slender type of the Later Corinthian crater mentioned above.

It will be noticed that every type of dolphin thus far considered has been represented at an angle which indicates that it is plunging or swimming through the water. None of these have approached the illustrations in the writings of modern biologists. There is, however, a Rhodian pinax in the Louvre which adheres very closely to this effect.[20] The animal occupies the exergue of the plate, and is represented as static. It combines the artist's memory picture of a dolphin with additional details such as two pairs of little dorsal fins, and two pairs of similar ventral fins, which he has borrowed from his observation of fish. The flukes are in profile. There is a line indicative of gills. The characteristic features which, in spite of the above-mentioned inaccuracies, force the conclusion that we have here a dolphin are the good representation of the beak and rounded brain case, and also the light-colored belly. The creature is a fine example of a dolphin, which may be identified as such without calling upon the setting to furnish an explanatory context (*vide infra*), or upon artistic conventions and types. Stiff and lifeless though it may be, it is truer to nature than the dolphins of the Execias cylix, for it has the convex ventral outline which was very early sacrificed to artistic effect.[21]

[18] Fowler and Wheeler, *op. cit.* p. 447.

[19] Morin-Jean, *op. cit.* p. 86, fig. 98. *Cf.* also Pottier, *Vases antiques du Louvre*, Paris, 1897, *Salles* A-E, Pl. 15, A 444.

[20] Morin-Jean, *op. cit.* p. 49, fig. 43.

[21] Pfuhl, *op. cit.* §134, p. 139, and §137, p. 142, calls this creature a dolphin. Perrot et Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, Paris, 1911, IX, 424, fig. 213, call it a swordfish (*espadon*). If this is true, it is a poor example of that fish, and, apparently, unique in art. In view of Pfuhl's statement that this is the only example of a dolphin in the "Rhodian-Milesian Orientalizing Style," and in view also of Perrot et Chipiez' statement that it is a swordfish, it is interesting to note a Rhodian oenochoe or jug (*cf.* E. Buschor, *Griechische Vasenmalerei, II Auflage*, p. 75, fig. 55) which presents an animal very like that of the pinax in its details, but which has a concave outline in the region of the tail, making it more suggestive of the dolphin in art than is the former. Pottier, *Vases antiques du Louvre, Salles* A-E, p. 12, A 307, calls this animal a "*poisson* (*dauphin*)."

The Seventh Century[22] Rhodian pinax is an example of what may be called, for the sake of convenience, the pisciform type of dolphin in art. It constitutes a link between the curvilinear types seen in the Later Corinthian and Attic examples, and the more primitive type of the Geometric period. The dolphins of the Geometric period are the most difficult of all to identify as such. Unless the representation also contains accompanying objects which suggest what we may call a "context" it is almost impossible to prove that they are not fish. It would be simpler to dismiss the subject entirely, and say at once that there are a few fish, but certainly no dolphins represented in the remains of Geometric art, and that dolphins, while found on Cretan and Mycenaean objects, do not appear in Hellenic art much before the periods of Proto-Attic, Rhodian and Early Corinthian wares. But the Proto-Attic is very close to the Dipylon style, and dolphins played about the boats of men who used the Geometric vases, just as they did about the boats of the Cretans who produced the dolphins of the Queen's Megaron at Cnossus, and of the Athenians who admired the Nessus Amphora. The lays that have come down to us in the form of the Iliad, the Odyssey and the Homeric Hymns were in the air breathed by the men of the Geometric period and they mention dolphins. It seems, therefore, unthinkable that the attractive, friendly sea-animal should not be represented in Geometric art.

Before considering possible examples, however, it is well to remember how any living creature is represented in Geometric art, the men with triangular bodies, the attenuated horses, the processions of ducks or geese. There is no perspective, and no feeling of motion. A dolphin may be expected to share these qualities if it is represented on a Geometric vase, and accordingly the setting in which it is placed has much to do with its identification. If, on the other hand, it is represented without other details of setting, the only argument upon which we may depend for identification is that the playful nature of dolphins would be likely to attract the artist, and to make them appeal to him as effective decorative material, so that he would be more likely to select them for portrayal than, for instance, the useful tunny, or some familiar smaller fish.

A Dipylon fragment in the Louvre affords an interesting example of what may possibly be intended for a school of dolphins.[23] A ship

[22] E. Pottier, *Musée du Louvre, Catalogue des Vases antiques de Terre cuite*, Paris, 1896, *Première Partie*, 138.

[23] Rayet et Collignon, *Histoire de la Céramique grecque*, Paris, 1888, 29, fig. 20. They are called fish (p. 30).

is manned by four seated oarsmen, who are obviously rowing. In the space below the beak of the ship are two pairs of what, for want of a better name, we shall call "fish." They may be assumed to symbolize the sea which is not otherwise suggested. They are drawn in the most primitive kind of silhouette, with both dorsal and ventral outlines convex as in the Rhodian pinax. They have fluked tails, and two dorsal and two ventral fins each, except in the case of one where the posterior fins are omitted. The heads are pointed, but there is no real beak, nor is there any rounding of the brain-case. There is no angle to indicate the dolphin's plunge. The only indication that these creatures are dolphins lies in the probability of the artist's selection of dolphins in lieu of fish as suggested above, and also in the appeal the use of a school of dolphins may have made to so persistent a space filler as the Geometric artist. If, in this connection, it is remembered that the procession of geese, ducks, or *Dipylonvoegel*, so frequently met with in art of this period, constitutes a very definite touch of nature, and that the popularity of these birds in a style so devoted to horizontal bands was probably due in the first instance to their habit of proceeding in single file, the identification of the four so-called fish on the Dipylon fragment under discussion will not seem so improbable. A later fabric, the Proto-Attic, which is a link between the Dipylon and the Black-Figured Attic Ware,[24] combines in the Nessus Amphora[25] both of these motifs, the procession of ducks around the lip, and the school of dolphins following the leader around the lower part of the body of the vase.

A fragmentary bone dolphin comes from the Dipylon cemetery in Athens.[26] Only the head and part of the body remain, and in the shape of these there is no indication of a beak or rounded brain-case. The publishers call it a dolphin, apparently going on the theory advanced for the vase fragment, that the artist would select a dolphin to represent, rather than any other sea-creature.[27] It will be seen that at best there is little real proof that the pisciform creatures of the Dipylon and Geometric wares are dolphins, but only a probability so strong that it is impossible to omit the type from any work pretending to discuss the place of the dolphin in Greek art.

It will thus be seen that the types of the dolphin in art fall into

[24] Fowler and Wheeler, *op. cit.* p. 471.

[25] *Antike Denkmaeler*, I, Pl. 57.

[26] A. Brueckner und E. Pernice, *Ein attischer Friedhof*, *Ath. Mitt.* XVIII, 1893, 130, fig. 28.

[27] *Ibid.*

the following large groups, each of which includes numerous modifications and sub-types.

I. The Pisciform Type or the "probable dolphin" found in Geometric art and other works retaining primitive traits.[28]

II. The Thick-Headed Type, represented by the Corinthian aryballus.[29] This is usually a short thick-set animal.

III. The Simple Curvilinear Type, represented by the Execias cylix.[30]

IV. The Elaborate Curvilinear Type, including the σιμός-Type, and the various modifications of the later period.

This cursory glance at the types of the dolphin brings up the point of the conventions which at a very early date began to govern its representation in art.

A convention which belongs to the earlier period is the representation of the dolphin with the horizontal flukes of the tail in profile, or in other words set vertically. This is readily accounted for by Loewy's interesting theory that the primitive artist draws from a memory picture instead of from the model in nature.[31] It will again be recalled, in this connection, that dolphins were popularly thought of as fish whose tails actually are set at a vertical angle. This habit of so drawing or modeling the dolphin appears to have been overcome about as early as the beginning of the Fifth Century, and is most perfectly illustrated in coins of Syracuse with the nymph's head surrounded by four dolphins.[32]

The other far more important and interesting convention begins in every field of art and in every locality producing works of art as soon as feeling for motion, and a grasp of the meaning of perspective begins to creep in. This is the use of the concave ventral outline, which in many cases, as, for instance, in the Execias cylix, is a perfect arc unbroken even by the outline of the pendulous flippers, which the artist has in this case simply omitted. In attempting to discover why convention has so far departed from nature in the representation of the dolphin, it is necessary to try to get at the artist's intention. Aristotle has described dolphins as shooting out of the water like an

[28] *Cf.* the "Melian Relief" of Phrixus on the Ram in *Catalog of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New York, 1922, p. 95, fig. 57.

[29] P. 13, *supra.*

[30] P. 10, *supra.*

[31] Loewy, *The Rendering of Nature in Early Greek Art.* Translated by John Fothergil, London 1907, Chapter I, *passim.*

[32] *Cf.* G. F. Hill, *Coins of Ancient Sicily*, Frontispiece.

arrow,[33] and the modern scientist writes that the porpoise in leaping makes a long curve through the air without bending its body.[34] In the Museum of Natural History in New York there are models of leaping porpoises and dolphins arranged against a background painted to represent the sea. The plastic models show the tail portion of the creatures flexed either up or down but in no case to a great degree, and never to the point of producing the ventral concavity represented in art.[35] The lively effect of the models in the Museum of Natural History is due principally to the angles at which the animals are placed against the background.

The primitive artist undoubtedly observed dolphins and attempted to portray them at their play. That the result of his efforts does not convey such an impression is to be accounted for by his lack of skill and feeling for perspective. Similarly, to borrow the process of reasoning in Loewy's *Rendering of Nature in Early Greek Art*,[36] the child's drawing of a fish is very like that of an artist of the Geometric period, while the cartoonist, on the other hand, who is depicting a fish being hurled through the air, performs a combination of the child's drawing and the imaginary arc described by the fish in transit, as in the *Toonerville Folks* cartoon by Fontaine Fox.[37]

This imaginary arc, which the modern cartoonist sketches separately, the artists of the more developed periods in Crete and Greece have embodied in the concave ventral outline of their representations of the dolphin. It is the trick which produces the illusion of lively motion, and it became a practically universal convention in all forms of classical art, the only exceptions being found where the primitive pisciform convention clings very late as in the Melian Relief or the Amphora from Cyprus in the British Museum.[38]

Although the use of the concave ventral outline is false to nature, it imparts an illusion of fidelity to nature which accounts in part for the popularity of the convention. There is, however, another very important factor which probably had an equal share in so firmly establishing it in artistic tradition. The decorative quality of the

[33] Arist. *H. A.* 631 a.

[34] Racovitza, *op. cit.* p. 640.

[35] It is evident that this is a physical impossibility owing to the frame of the dolphin with its large rib-basket and the fact that it has a very thick layer of fat for warmth, instead of a coat of fur. *Cf.* Lydekker, *op. cit.* p. 8.

[36] Chapter I, *passim.*

[37] *New York Herald-Tribune*, October 10, 1926.

[38] *Cf.* note 28, *supra*, and *Catalogue of Vases in the British Museum*, I, Part II, p. 194, C 959.

curvilinear dolphin was early recognized and must have contributed greatly to making the creature one of the stock materials of art, especially where a motif was desired which would be readily adaptable to curved surfaces. Illustrations of this point are found in the common use of the dolphin as a purely decorative figure beneath the handles of cylices in the Black-Figured style,[39] or as a circular border around the head of the nymph on the Syracusan coins,[40] where they combine symbolism with decorative effect.

The vertical flukes and the concavity of the ventral outline with the corresponding convexity of the dorsal outline constitute the two important conventions in the representation of the dolphin in art. To them might be added the horizontal line which in vase painting is frequently drawn along the body, from the region of the head to the "small,"[41] and which is, in the more advanced styles, a reminiscence of the naturalistic division of the body of the dolphin into a dark back and light belly,[42] most frequently met with in the earlier periods.

Besides these conventions in the representation of the dolphin, there is also an important and universally admitted convention, the use of the dolphin in art to symbolize the sea.[43] In this respect it is most frequently found as the sole symbol. On occasions, however, waves are also represented,[44] especially in Roman art.

A glance over the examples chosen to represent the types and conventions of the dolphin will show that artists in all periods designed the animal with very little regard for its attributes in nature. In primitive art this is due mainly to lack of training both in observation and in workmanship, but when the time had arrived in which artists were able as a matter of course to set the tail of the dolphin correctly, they paid little further heed to its anatomical structure, and modified it both in proportion and detail to suit the demands for decorative effect.

[39] *Vide infra.*

[40] *Cf.* note 32, *supra.*

[41] Furtwaengler-Reichhold, I, Pl. 42.

[42] *Cf.* the Rhodian pinax, Morin-Jean, *op. cit.* p. 49, fig. 43.

[43] *Cf.* Furtwaengler's comment on the Execias cylix, in Furtwaengler-Reichhold, *Text, Ser. I,* 228. Also the Metope from Selinus representing Europa on the Bull, in E. A. Gardner, *Handbook of Greek Sculpture,* London, 1915, 163–164, and fig. 28.

[44] *Cf.* the "Melian Relief" of Phrixus on the Ram, note 28, *supra.*

CHAPTER III

THE DOLPHIN IN MINOAN ART

In comparison with the numerous examples of the dolphin in Greek and Roman art, it is rare among Cretan remains, where it is distributed, however, through the various fields, such as frescoes, gems, sarcophagi, and vases. In considering the earlier Minoan periods it is necessary to bear in mind the argument for admitting the "probable" or pisciform dolphin into the productions of artists whose work stands at the beginning of the fields they represent.

Seals and Sealings

The Cretan Pictographic Writing, which is preserved on the original seals, or on clay sealings made from them, affords some of the earliest examples of dolphins in Minoan art.

An example of a pictographic prism seal, probably E. M. III, is a steatite gem in the Berlin Museum, on one of the sides of which there are three so-called "fish," one above the other.[1] They are equipped with two pairs of dorsal as well as two pairs of ventral fins, and fluked tails. The cutting is crude and angular, but the feeling of motion which the engraver has managed to impart to the one in the centre, whether or not he did so intentionally, and which depends upon the convex dorsal curve and the corresponding ventral concavity, is suggestive of the dolphin, while the lowest fish of the three has a prow-like extension beneath his head which might be construed as a dolphin's beak, and the diagnosis confirmed by pointing to the abrupt curve in the top of the head. It remains a fact that the "fish" on this seal and the similar ones in the same formation on a primitive steatite gem in the Museum at Candia,[2] cannot be definitely identified, but it is not beyond probability to conjecture that the engraver wished to convey the impression of the scene so familiar in the Aegean as a school of playful dolphins.

To the transition between E. M. III and M. M. I, we may ascribe the three-sided seal from Tholos B at Plátanos, Mesará.[3] The deco-

[1] *Cretan Pictographs*, 339, fig. 59c, and Evans, *Further Discoveries of Cretan and Aegean Script, J.H.S.* XVII, 1897, 333. The soft material of this gem is indicative of the E.M. III period. *Cf.* Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, 271.

[2] *Further Discoveries*, 333, note 7, and Plate X, 16. In Evans, *Scripta Minoa*, I, 205, the "fish" on these gems are grouped with the tunnies.

[3] *Palace of Minos*, I, 118, fig. 87, 7, where it is included among E.M. III remains. Sir Arthur Evans, in the Preface to S. Xanthoudídes, *The Vaulted Tombs of Mesará*,

ration is a primitive pictograph consisting of a ship with a four-pronged sign at the beak, and along the side two creatures described by Sir Arthur Evans as "fish."[4] But their function is clearly to represent the sea upon which the ship is sailing, and the suitability of the dolphin for this purpose has already been discussed. Moreover, upon examining them closely, it will be seen that they have slender proportions, fluked tails, a fairly large fin set toward the middle of the back, and while one has two ventral fins the other has only one, and its head, moreover, is in quite a decided beak form. One, it will also be noted, has the round head-outline characteristic of the dolphin, and its position in reference to the ship suggests a downward plunge. They are obviously the work of a primitive artist as is the boat beside which they play, but in spite of their defects, for they lack eyes, and the flukes of their tails are set vertically instead of horizontally, these so-called fish are not so different from the *Delphinus delphis* as are the accepted dolphins of the art of later periods. Their identification would be perfect if they had an indentation in the line of the head to set off the beak, but even without this their representation along side a ship, and their structural characteristics would seem to justify the classification of the ivory seal among objects representing "probable dolphins." The sign by the ship has not been interpreted. If it is considered as an instrument to spear fish, it might imply that the animals on this ivory seal are tunny-fish equally as well as that they are dolphins, for the trident, always a three-pronged instrument,[5] however, was used in the pursuit of both of these creatures.[6] But in view of the shape, and of the angle of the plunge as discussed above, it is as likely that the intention of the seal-cutter was to portray dolphins.

With the dawn of the Middle Minoan Period, conventionalized pictographs or hieroglyphs superseded the Early Minoan primitive pictographs, the new signs adding a phonographic to the original ideographic value of the writing.[7] Sir Arthur Evans divides the

London, 1924, vii, note 1, writes that in the *Palace of Minos* I this seal "is erroneously grouped with specimens from Tholos A at Plátanos. It is from the smaller Tholos B, the contents of which belong mostly to M.M. I. It belongs perhaps to the borders of E.M. III, and M.M. I."

[4] *Palace of Minos*, I, 120.

[5] Keller, *Die antike Tierwelt*, II, 329.

[6] *Ibid.* 387, states that the trident is the standard instrument of the tunny-fisher. For the use of the trident in catching dolphins, *cf.* Aelian, *Nat. An.* I, 18.

[7] *Scripta Minoa*, I, 134, and *Palace of Minos*, I, 673.

Hieroglyphic System of records into two classes, A and B, of which he states that Class A is a special product of the M.M. I period.[8] Class B is the later development of Class A. The entire system was abruptly cut off by the catastrophe which closed the M.M. II period, about 1700.[9]

Included within Class B of the hieroglyphs is a clay sealing from a hoard found in House A, Kato Zakro, Crete.[10] From left to right the figures are a fish, which Sir Arthur Evans identifies as a tunny,[11] an eye, a trowel, and three incomplete circles. This so-called fish has a fluked tail, a body more convex in the back than in the ventral outline, a round head, and an open mouth which is unmistakably a beak. Although it is most crudely delineated, it is possible to interpret this creature as a dolphin, especially as it has to so marked a degree two characteristics which are absent in the tunny, the beak, and the rounded brain-case. It should not be rejected because it falls short of one's mental picture of a dolphin, for it is quite as comparable to a dolphin as another sign on the same sealing is to an eye.

In the M.M. II period it is difficult to find examples of the accepted type of dolphin, or even of fish depicted in combination with other objects which might serve as a clue to their identity as dolphins. A glance through the chapters on this period in the first volume of the *Palace of Minos* will show that the Cretan artist was more occupied with reproducing floral and spiral than animal designs. It is true that animals are still represented in the hieroglyphs, and there is one example of a fine sealing which Sir Arthur Evans describes as "a fish and sepia stranded, as if by a retiring wave in a rocky pool."[12] There is a great temptation at first glance to look upon the fish as a dolphin devouring its natural prey, the sepia, or squid, but the unmistakable dorsal finlets, the gills, and the absence of a fluked-tail make the identification impossible.

To M.M. II belongs a four-sided bead seal from Siteia with a fish against a reticulated background,[13] which Sir Arthur Evans once suggested to be a fish-net, using the interpretation to confirm his identification of the fish as a tunny.[14] Later, however, he calls a

[8] *Palace of Minos*, I, 195.
[9] *Ibid.* pp. 272, and 315–316.
[10] *Scripta Minoa*, I, 157, P 45.
[11] *Ibid.* p. 204, No. 59 c.
[12] *Palace of Minos*, I, 272, and fig. 202*b*
[13] *Ibid.* p. 277, fig. 207, *h* 1–4.
[14] *Cretan Pictographs*, 308, No. 33.

similar pattern on a sealing a decorative feature,[15] which it must also be in the case of the cross-hatchings on the fore-part of a dog represented on a fragment of an ivory seal that dates from the E.M. III period.[16] The reticulated motif may furthermore be interpreted as an attempt to depict the play of light and shadow on the surface of the sea when it is calm. In support of this hypothesis there is the "conventional scale-work"[17] on a silver rhyton of the M.M. III period, from the Fourth Shaft Grave at Mycenae, and similarly on a L.M. I rhyton from Pseira.[18] This pattern is a curvilinear reticulation, and may quite possibly be an artistic outgrowth of the more primitive network designs in M.M. II.[19]

Now that the sea has been indicated as a possible interpretation for the network background of one of the four sides of the bead-seal from Siteia, the question arises whether the fish against the background is a tunny, or whether it may be a dolphin. In another work[20] Sir Arthur Evans has suggested that the fish on this seal is an ideograph, and furthermore that it may be a *type parlant*.[21] The fact that it occupies a full side of a four-sided cylinder seal, of which the three remaining sides are covered with hieroglyphic signs, strongly supports this theory. The question thus resolves itself into whether the dolphin or the tunny is the more likely to furnish the *type parlant*. On another seal of the same period, the cat[22] is a *type parlant*, in other words a non food-producing, decorative animal with a religious significance in Egypt, a country with strong influence over Crete.[23] The dolphin has the first two qualifications rather than the tunny. In answer to the question whether it has the religious significance, one has only to remember that the worship of the dolphin god Apollo

[15] *Palace of Minos*, I, 273, and fig. 202*e*.

[16] *Ibid.* p. 120, fig. 88*b*. For other examples, *cf.* pp. 112, 113, figs. 80*a* and 80*b*.

[17] *Palace of Minos*, I, 698, fig. 521*a*.

[18] *Antiquités Crét., 2e Sér.*, Pl. XXI.

[19] R. Hackl, in G. Rodenwaldt, *Tiryns*, Vol. II, 228, describes this curvilinear wave-motif "*als Angabe von Terrain, von Felsen zwischen denen Blumen wachsen. . . . .*" This seems a less natural interpretation in connection with the other marine designs in the flooring of the Palace at Tiryns, than to take it as the sea in which water plants are growing.

[20] *Scripta Minoa*, I, 205, No. 59.

[21] *Ibid.* p. 264.

[22] *Ibid.* p. 153, P 23.

[23] *Ibid.* pp. 264–265, gives many other examples of "figures . . . . which have every appearance of being personal badges or actual names or cognomina." These, with the possible exception of an ass, are not useful or food-producing animals. For the cult of the ass, *cf.* Cook, *Animal Worship in the Mycenaean Age*, *J.H.S.* XIV, 1894, 81 ff.

Delphinius originated in Crete.[24] Macdonald[25] emphasizes the punning nature of the canting badge or *type parlant*, as against the religious element. This but confirms the choice of a derivative from the word Dolphin rather than from the word Tunny if, in the absence of any knowledge of the language of Minos we may take a suggestion from the Greek.[26] A few words on the tunny may not be amiss at this point.

Thunnus thynnus is a large pelagic fish of the mackerel family which is found along certain parts of the coasts of the Mediterranean, and in the Sea of Marmora. It attains a length of about ten feet. It has two dorsal fins, a short pectoral fin, nine short finlets behind the second dorsal fin, one ventral fin, one anal fin, behind which are eight short finlets. Its tail has vertical flukes.[27] Sir Arthur Evans notes that it is likely that tunny-fisheries existed in Minoan Crete,[28] and the tunny was a staple food in ancient Greece where it was considered the best of all fishes for preserving.[29] Tunnies were caught in nets or by means of the trident,[30] and dolphins were considered one of the enemies of the tunny-fisher, for they would pursue the young ones for food,[31] and get taken in the nets which they would tear.[32] Keller recounts how the tunny-fishers of antiquity prayed to Poseidon Alexikakos that no evil swordfish, shark, or dolphin might break through their nets and let the tunny escape.[33] The words connected with tunny-fishing were, according to Keller,[34] in Greece *θυννεία*, for which the source is Zonaras, in Italy and Sicily *κητεία*, for which the source is Aelian, and for the yearlings *πελαμυδεία*, source Strabo. *Κητεία*, the term used in Italy and Sicily, might be

[24] *Cf.* Swindler, *Cretan Elements in the Cults and Ritual of Apollo*, Bryn Mawr, 1913, 22–29.

[25] *Coin Types*, Glasgow, 1905, p. 17.

[26] Pape und Benseler, *Woerterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen, III Aufl.*, Braunschweig, 1875, give four proper nouns beginning with *θυν* as against some twenty-four beginning with *δελφι* or *δελφο*. This is not offered as a conclusive argument, as it is not known that the Minoan language is Hellenic. It seems, however, that the same principle of selection applies to language as to art, and that a proper name would be more likely to be derived from a dolphin than from a tunny.

[27] *Encyclopedia Britannica.*

[28] *Cretan Pictographs*, 308, No. 33.

[29] Keller, *Tierwelt*, II, 337.

[30] *Ibid.* 387.

[31] *Ibid.* 382. *Cf.* Aesop, *Fables*, ed. Halm, No. 167.

[32] Keller, *Tierwelt*, II, 392.

[33] *Ibid.* p. 392. (Keller does not give his source).

[34] *Ibid.* p. 386. (Keller does not cite chapter and verse of his sources).

construed as indicating a confusion in the mind of the ancients between dolphins and tunnies, but it is best interpreted as meaning simply the fishing of large fish[35] as opposed to the smaller kinds.

It is evident that the dolphin and the tunny were both familiar inhabitants of the Mediterranean and Aegean Seas in antiquity as they are to-day, so that the argument that either one or the other is represented in the simplified delineation of pisciform creatures in primitive or degenerate art is based upon the same facts. It becomes evident, however, from the representations of other objects in primitive art, that there was little or no effort to record the distinguishing characteristics of different species of fish (it will be remembered that the dolphin was thought of as a fish) and that especially in the pictographic and hieroglyphic writing, where a sign rather than a picture was desirable, conventionalization tending to a standardization of the type would predominate. Madame Oulié, in her thesis on animals in the painting of pre-Hellenic Crete, calls the Early and first Middle Minoan periods the periods of schematization.[36] The identification of the pisciform pictograph as a tunny, accordingly, leaves aside anatomical details as important to the characterization of tunnies as the rounded brain-case and beak are in the case of dolphins. Moreover, this identification does not account for the lack of representations of dolphins in the art of the E.M., M.M. I, and M.M. II periods, and their consequently unheralded appearance in M.M. III art, a period which in turn apparently offers no representations of tunnies, with the possible exception of a very fine gem[37] depicting a fisherman carrying a fish which may be identified as one. Furthermore, although it is admitted that the Linear Script is not derived from the Hieroglyphic Script, it seems possible to conjecture that the pisciform symbol of the earlier writing and the symbol in the Linear Script, which Sir Arthur Evans derives from the dolphin's head,[38] both go back to a single prototype, the dolphin. Finally, the natural tendency of the artist to select the beautiful and attractive creature rather than the useful food-producing fish may be emphasized in advancing the hypothesis that it is the dolphin and not the tunny which is the prototype of the pisciform representation in Early Minoan art.

[35] *Cf.* Liddell and Scott, *s.v.* κητεία.

[36] Marthe Oulié, *Les Animaux dans la Peinture de la Crète Préhellenique*, Paris, 1926, p. 85.

[37] *British Museum Catalogue of Gems*, No. 80. It is not certain that this is Cretan.

[38] *Palace of Minos*, I, 633, fig. 471. *Cf.* also the Comparative Table of Signs of the Hieroglyphic and Linear Scripts, p. 643, fig. 477.

It is only in the M.M. III period that the accepted conventional type of dolphin is found in all forms of art. This is the period of the fine fresco in the Queen's Megaron at the Palace of Cnossus and of the beautiful dolphins on the burial jars of Pachyammos.[39]

Cretan Seals of this period are represented by the very fine steatite bead seal of the flattened cylinder type coated with gold plate which was worn as the bezel of a ring.[40] The dolphins upon it are cut in intaglio, and the gold plate has afterwards been pressed into the surface of the steatite. They follow the type of the Queen's Megaron dolphins and are shown bounding towards a rocky shore with the line of the waves indicated along their bodies. They are furnished with a dorsal fin and a pair of flippers correctly placed. The flukes of the tail are separated from the body by a ball like that of the dolphins of the burial jars from Pachyammos. The upper dolphin has a concave ventral line, that of the lower one is straight.

This same type of dolphin is also seen on a gem in the Metropolitan Museum[41] where the animal is shown plunging downwards along the vertical axis. It is placed in this period because of its resemblance to the type of the Queen's Megaron fresco.

To this must be added a lentoid seal of chalcedony engraved with the sign of an octopus, two so-called fish, and a sea-urchin which came to light in the excavations at Mochlos.[42] Of these fish, the upper is plainly a dolphin poorly cut after the Queen's Megaron type. Its long birdlike beak is open, the brain-case is well rounded, there is a conical dorsal fin, and the tail is enriched by three divisions instead of the usual two flukes. It has a large round eye. The other fish is unrecognizable. Seager attributes this stone to the M.M. III period and also calls attention to a similar gem from Palaikastro with a fish and a sea-urchin.[43]

An account of the dolphins of the M.M. III period cannot be concluded without mentioning the bronze votive tablet from the Dictaean Cave.[44] Various objects are depicted upon the tablet all of which have some bearing upon the worship which took place in the Cave. They include a crudely outlined creature with open mouth, no indication of a beak, a small line for an eye, two parallel

[39] *Vide infra.*
[40] *Palace of Minos*, I, 675, fig. 495.
[41] Metropolitan Museum, No. L. 2109. 4 P.
[42] Seager, *Mochlos*, 22, fig. 15, and 110.
[43] *Mochlos*, 110.
[44] Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, 632, fig. 470.

lines slanting back from its head to indicate, one may suppose, two back fins, another similar line projecting downwards from the middle of the ventral outline, a fan-shaped tail without any division into flukes. The only remarkable thing about this so-called fish are two little triangular fins drawn on either side of the outlines of the body near the tail, and between them across the body two parallel lines drawn exactly as those in the dolphin of the Early Corinthian vase.[45] The lines indicate the ball separating the tail from the body which is characteristic of the dolphins of the jars from Pachyammos. The absence of other characteristics such as a beak, a rounded brain case, or flippers and flukes, does not serve as sufficient argument against the identification of the so-called fish as a dolphin. Moreover, this tablet has, besides the ritualistic images, a sign in Linear Script A, which Sir Arthur Evans suggests is derived from the dolphin's head.[46]

At this point it is interesting to take up an example of pictographic writing which evidently uses the dolphin as one of its signs. This is the Phaistos Disk, so called because it was discovered in Phaistos, but the provenance of which cannot be definitely said to be from Crete, for its signs have too many elements which bespeak an Oriental rather than a Minoan origin.[47] The date of the Disk is supposed to be *c.* 1600, as it was found with a Cretan tablet of the M.M. III Linear Script A class and ceramic remains of that period in the Palace at Phaistos.[48] One of the signs which occurs on either face of this disk is a pisciform animal with a fluked tail, two back fins, two ventral fins, an eye, and with the dorsal line curving with a certain amount of rapidity to the juncture of an unmistakable beak. Sir Arthur Evans follows Pernier in identifying it with a tunny.[49] It is equally possible, however, that it is an example of a dolphin in pictographic form.

Late Minoan seals are represented by an example in the Museum of Candia, of a lentoid sard incised with a dolphin bounding towards the left above a sea-urchin.[50] The dolphin has the concave ventral line and convex dorsal line. The beak is long and open. There is

[45] *Vide* p. 13, *supra.*

[46] *Palace of Minos*, I, 633, fig. 471.

[47] *Scripta Minoa*, I, Pls. XII and XIII.

[48] *Palace of Minos*, I, 647–8.

[49] Pernier, *Il Disco de Phaestos*, *Ausonia*, III, 1909, 284, No. 10. *Cf.* also *Scripta Minoa*, I, 279, No. 33, and *Palace of Minos*, I, 651, note 1.

[50] Xanthoudides, *Arch. Eph.* 1907, p. 174, No. 94, and Pl. VII, No. 94.

a very large sail-like back fin, and a row of five finlets which occupy the space between the dorsal fin and the fluked tail. These are, of course, supplied from the engravers imagination, and may have been suggested by the spines of the sea-urchin.

There is also a seal of chalcedony from the Late Minoan II-III period in the Metropolitan Museum in New York.[51] The stone is rectangular, with a group of sedge in the upper left hand corner. Away from this swim two "fish" which, when compared with the degenerate type of dolphins in L.M. art, may with a good deal of probability be identified as such. The work is sketchy and late, and yet a certain delicate charm and freshness clings about this gem.

Painting

Early Vases. The Fresco of the Queen's Megaron. Later Vases

The earliest examples of Minoan pottery with decorations for which we may reason that the dolphin stands as prototype are three jugs from Vasiliki which are almost identical[52] and which date from M.M. I.[53] The ornamentation consists of large pisciform creatures with fluked tails, the body delineated without any curve to the brain case. Each one is equipped with two back fins and two ventral fins. There is nothing about them to suggest that they are intended to represent the dolphin, or the tunny, or any other fish except that the vase-painter has drawn one of them on a diagonal, in this way imparting a feeling of life which may or may not be interpreted as his effort to depict the leaping dolphin.

A jug from the M. M. I period, in shape and decoration, save for the horizontal bands, similar to the jugs from Vasiliki, has been found at Palaikastro.[54]

Another jug from Palaikastro also of the M.M. I period[55] has against a black background the white silhouette of a pisciform crea-

[51] Metropolitan Mus. No. L. 2392.5.

[52] *Antiquités Crét. 2e Sér.* Pl. XXIV.

[53] *Palace of Minos*, I, 182, fig. 131. This illustration does not show the fish at an angle as does the reproduction in the Metropolitan Museum. Oulié, p. 85, calls the pisciform representations on this vase the "*poissons de Vasiliki*" on the ground that they are typical.

[54] Bosanquet and Dawkins, *Unpublished Objects from the Palaikastro Excavations*, 1902–1906, in *Supplementary Paper*, No. 1, Part 1, issued with No. XXIV of the *B.S.A.*, 1923, Pl. IV, e. The writers describe the "fish" on this and the succeeding jug, and on the cup, as "drawn with skill and appreciation of natural beauty," p. 11.

[55] Bosanquet-Dawkins, *Palaikastro*, 11, fig. 7.

ture, with one large sickle-shaped dorsal fin at the center of the curved back, a small fin at the head, and a ventral fin. The tail has profile flukes. The ventral outline is concave. A dolphin is suggested by the shape.

Excavations at Palaikastro have also yielded an interesting M.M. I sherd from a cup.[56] The artist has attempted to portion off a wide border of the outside rim by an effort at a serpentine effect, filling the interstices with "fish" represented alternately as upside down and right side up. They are similar to the dolphins of the jugs from Vasiliki so far as the details are concerned, but are thicker and have a more pronounced dorsal curve.

The M.M. II period has, it seems, so far offered no examples of dolphins in painting. With the M.M. III period come the dolphins of the accepted curvilinear type, the most familiar representation of which occurs on the fresco of the Queen's Megaron in the Palace at Cnossus.[57]

These dolphins are drawn swimming in the sea which is indicated by wavy lines along their bodies, rather than as springing out of it. The ventral outline is not as convex as in nature, having a flatness rather than a concavity towards the front and bending outward a little towards the tail, thus giving the effect of a smooth and effortless glide through the water. There are inaccuracies in the actual representation but these are insignificant when compared with the effect produced by the picture which is enhanced by the well preserved coloring of the dolphins' dark backs and light bellies.[58]

Dolphins of the Curvilinear Type are also found on the two fine burial jars from Pachyammos.[59] These are from the transitional phase of the Third Middle Minoan[60] period. One of the jars is decorated in white on a background of dark greyish brown.[61] Its chief ornament is a band of dolphins above which are rocks washed by sea-foam, while beneath them there is a series of white dots which, according to Sir Arthur Evans, indicate a pebbly beach.[62] It is plain here as in the fresco of the Queen's Megaron that only the creatures' backs are intended to be visible above the surface of the water for there are

[56] *Ibid.*, Pl. IV, d, and p. 11.

[57] *Antiquités Crét. 3e Sér.* Pl. XI.

[58] *Palace of Minos*, I, 543.

[59] R. Seager, *Pachyammos*, Pl. XIV, and p. 23. *Cf.* also *Palace of Minos*, I, 608, figs. 447*a* and 447*b*.

[60] *Palace of Minos*, I, 609.

[61] *Ibid.* p. 608, fig. 447*a*.

[62] *Ibid.* p. 609.

two wavy lines which represent it, drawn across the lower part of their bodies. They leap along in a game of follow the leader, just as porpoises are seen to do in the Atlantic. Their heads are rounded with a free line. The flippers have been omitted. The short beaks turn up slightly. There is a free-hand style about the drawing which makes for a delightful irregularity imparting an effect of freshness. The appearance of leaping is obtained here, as it is regularly obtained, by the opposition of the convex dorsal line with the concave ventral line. The tails are one of the most interesting features of this vase, as the vertically placed flukes are set off from the body by a ball. We thus find in Minoan art the principle of the transitional member, which in Crete, as well as in Greece of the classical period, may have been borrowed by the vase-painter from his observation of column construction in architecture.[63] The Cretan artist, who in the XVII or XVI Century painted the dolphins of the burial jars from Pachyammos, has anticipated the metal worker who designed the Demareteia of Syracuse in the Fifth Century.

The second jar from Pachyammos has not the representation of spray washed rocks above and pebbly shore below, but is instead ornamented with two rows of large dolphins.[64] These are still another variant of the Queen's Megaron type, presenting an even livelier appearance than those of the first jar. This is due to the downward pitch of the beak portion and to the pronounced concavity of the ventral line. So decided is this curve that the presence of flippers in the pectoral and anal positions does not take away from its effect. These dolphins are in a solid dark color against a light background. Besides the extra flippers they are provided with gills and a ball separating the tail from the body. Although these details do not occur in nature they do not prevent the dolphins being readily recognized or from making a very handsome ornament, although the vase itself is not so charming a composition as the first jar from Pachyammos with its additional motifs of spray swept rocks and pebbly shore. The dolphins of both of these jars belong rather to the Thick-Set Type than to the slender Curvilinear Type.

Dolphins of the L.M.I period are found on a rhyton from Pseira now in the Museum at Candia.[65] The dolphins are spaced alternately

[63] *Cf.* columns in the Hall of Colonnades in the Palace at Cnossus (*Palace of Minos*, I, fig. 248, opp. p. 342) which are restored after mural frescoes of M.M. III and L.M. I (*cf.* p. 342), and in which the shafts are set off from the heavy echini by a well-rounded torus or astragal moulding. *Cf.* also the columnar lamp, *Ibid.* 345, fig. 249.

[64] *Palace of Minos*, I, 608, fig. 447*b*.

[65] *Antiquités Crét. 2e Sér.* Pl. XXI.

head up, tail up, around the slender vase, against a background of net-work interspersed with dots which represents the rocky bottom of the sea.[66] There is a naturalistic representation of seaweed at the bottom and mouth of the vase. The dolphins are of the conventional Queen's Megaron type with balls setting off their tails, the inside of the flukes being divided into a fringe. There are gills and horizontal stripes along the body. Although a handsome type in themselves, the arrangement of the long asymmetrical body lengthwise of the vase shows a lack of decorative feeling which marks a turning from the lively, naturalistic, and appropriate lines of the Pachyammos jars in the M.M.III period. It is a symptom of the late style.[67]

Fragments of a vase decorated with dolphins in the Queen's Megaron style, but which belong to the Late Minoan Palace period,[68] or L.M.II[69] are discussed by Mackenzie who consistently calls them fish. They are done with a heavy careless touch, and from the three fragments the details of a whole dolphin may be made out. The beak is long and pointed, the very large eye is set off by white. There are three white lines to indicate gills, and two white stripes follow the ventral outline from them to the tail, of which the flukes are divided, and set off by a ball. The flippers are replaced by a pectoral fin set opposite the back fin. But in spite of these structural irregularities the general outline is typical of the conventional dolphin.

A very good late type of dolphin is found on a fragment which is possibly part of a handle, in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, where it is dated L.M.II. The decoration consists of a row of dolphins worked with quick strokes of dark paint on a light background. There is a feeling of life in these which has not been found on other L.M.II examples and which harks back to the burial jars of Pachyammos. Among the details are long beaks which are open, one dorsal fin springing from the head outline, another near the tail, two ventral fins, and the flukes in profile. There is a good curve to the body which imparts liveliness, and the thickness is well dispersed.

[66] *Palace of Minos*, I, 698, fig. 521*a*. This vase is also illustrated by Helen Gardner in *Art Through the Ages*, 82, fig. 52, where the network is interpreted as the meshes of a fish-net, which is not, however, so probable a background for dolphins as is a sea motif.

[67] *Cf. Palace of Minos*, II, 504, fig. 308, for a similar dolphin on a fragment of a steatite vessel from L.M. I.

[68] D. Mackenzie, *The Pottery of Knossos*, *J.H.S.* XXIII, 1903, 196 ff., and fig. 14, p. 198.

[69] *Cf. Palace of Minos*, I, 610.

On another fragment of a vase of the Later Palace style, or L.M.II[70], a "fish" is represented in a design with two double axes and a group of triton shells.[71] The "fish" evidently has scales, and is possessed of two pairs of dorsal and two pairs of ventral fins, a tail with wavy flukes, and a large eye. The extension of the mouth into a very short beak, appears to be a restoration (*cf.* illustration). Déchelette[72] recognizes in this creature the dolphin sun-god, ancestor of Apollo Delphinius, and substantiates his theory by the double-axe between the horns of consecration on the adjoining panel, which symbolizes the sun.

It will be observed that a debasement in workmanship is taking place in the L.M.II period which is exhibited in the cursory drawing of the dolphins in the examples given above, and that the fragment with the "probable dolphin" in combination with the double axes is indicative of a gradual reversion from the Queen's Megaron or accepted Curvilinear Type to the Pisciform Type. This latter will be seen to prevail throughout the L.M.III period, and may, in order to distinguish it chronologically from the primitive E.M. and M.M.I dolphins, be termed the decadent Pisciform Type.

A dolphin of this type occurs in the decoration of the false-necked jar from Cnossus in the British Museum,[73] where it is attributed to the L.M.III period. The decoration consists of three bounding dolphins with murex and conventionalized blossoms or star-fish done in brown glaze on a yellow background. The dolphins are in the Late Minoan tradition with light stripes along the body, and the large eye set off by a light circle as in the L.M.II sherds from Cnossus. They are equipped with three dorsal as well as three ventral fins, with no attempt to indicate the purpose of the dorsal fin in nature where it takes the place of a rudder, and no recognition of the fact that the dolphin has flippers instead of ventral fins. The flukes are small and obviously useless, there is no break in the line of brain-case and beak, for the dorsal curve starts with the fluke and terminates with the tip of the beak. The whole execution is a poor memory picture, the work of an artist who has got far away from the naturalism of the fresco

[70] *Cf.* note 69, *supra.*

[71] Evans, *Knossos Excavations*, 1903, in *B.S.A.* IX, 115, fig. 71, and p. 114.

[72] *Le Culte du Soleil aux Temps préhistoriques*, in *Rev. Arch.* XIII, 1909, 328–330. Le P. M. J. Lagrange, *La Crète Ancienne*, Paris, 1908, p. 95, recognizes the sacred character of this animal which he calls a fish.

[73] *Br. Mus. Cat. Vases*, I, Part 1, No. A 716, and Pl. IX; Furtwaengler u. Loeschcke, *Mykenische Vasen*, Berlin, 1886, *Atlas*, Pl. XIV, No. 87, and *Text*, 24, No. 87.

painter who some five or six hundred years earlier[74] had decorated the walls of the Queen's Megaron in his native city. The British Museum Catalogue does not dignify these animals with the name of dolphins as does Furtwaengler,[75] but merely calls them three large fish.

Furtwaengler would include this vase from Cnossus with Mycenean vases, under the assumption that the vases of that style which were found all over the Aegean sites and sites in Greece came from one centre which was Mycenae.[76]

A large amphora of the L.M. III period from Palaikastro[77] presents a pisciform creature with a fluked tail, and with what appears to be a beak. The body is filled in with cross-hatching probably to indicate scales. There is one dorsal and one ventral fin, and a series of finlets. There are also lines indicating gills, and a white line the length of the belly which is concave. The presence of the beak, the flukes, and the ventral concavity and downward pitch point towards a dolphin as against a fish. The publishers call this creature a fish, but compare it to the "fish (dolphin?)" on the stirrup vase from Crete in the British Museum discussed above.[78] Mme. Oulié[79] calls it a dolphin easily recognized by its prolonged beak.

A Late Minoan III vase from a tomb at Phaistos[80] exhibits a large bird carried upon the back of a "fish," which has the characteristics of the Late Minoan dolphin. This vase has been discussed as an illustration of religious belief in regard to the dead, and compared with the larnaces from Anoya (Mesará) and Palaikastro. Le Rev. Père Lagrange[81] remarks that the fish is probably a mysterious guide of the soul to the Elysian Fields, a prototype of the fish or savior-dolphin who carries Melicertes-Palaemon or Arion to safety.[82] Edoardo Galli[83] cites it together with the larnax from Palaikastro as illustrating the journey of the soul to Elysium in the form of a bird conveyed over the water.

[74] *Palace of Minos*, I, 315, places the opening of M.M. III at 1700 B.C., and Blegen, *Korakou*, Boston and New York, 1921, 123, places the end of L.H. III at 1100 B.C. It is assumed that L.H. III corresponds roughly to L.M. III.

[75] Furtwaengler-Loeschcke, *Text*, 24, No. 87.

[76] *Ibid.*, *Vorwort*, IX.

[77] Bosanquet-Dawkins, *Palaikastro*, 82–85, fig. 66*a*.

[78] *Ibid.* p. 82, note 1.

[79] *Op. cit.* p. 97.

[80] *Antiquités Crét. 1e Sér.* Pl. XXI.

[81] *Op. cit.* p. 107.

[82] Usener, in *Sintfluthsagen*, 138, makes the statement that the fish-conveyor is always a dolphin among the Greeks.

[83] *Il Sarcofago Etrusco di Torre San Severo*, *Mon. Ant.* XXIV, 106, fig. 51.

Clay Larnaces

In one other field of Cretan art, it is possible to look for dolphins, and that is upon the clay larnaces or burial chests which come from the Late Minoan periods. These were in the form of a hut[84] and frequently painted. They include among their decorations fish which may be interpreted as dolphins.

A fine Late Minoan larnax from Palaikastro has been published by Bosanquet.[85] The broad sides of the chest are divided into two panels, each of which contains a different representation as follows: the double axe and sacred horns between two blossoms, a gryphon, a bird, and finally the pisciform animal which Bosanquet describes with a query, as a dolphin.

It seems as if there should be no hesitation in calling the "fish" a dolphin in a debased representation of late art. It has the beak, the rounded brain-case, the dorsal fin in proper position, even though it is incorrectly represented so that it resembles a fin of a fish with membrane and rays. There is also an anal fin instead of flippers. The tail resembles that of the neighboring bird, and is spread like a fan instead of being a fluked member. Nevertheless, the analogy between this animal and the dolphins of L.M.III vases, especially of the false-necked jar in the British Museum is evident, and granted that they are intended to represent dolphins, its identity becomes unmistakable.

This larnax and the L.M.III vase from Phaistos on which a bird is shown carried by a "fish" are used as illustrations of the journey of the soul (the bird) by water to Elysium.[86]

On the lid of a terracotta larnax from the village of Messi east of Rethymo on the northern slopes of Mt. Ida are depicted in the crude Late Minoan style four "fish" grouped in two pairs against a wavy background representing water. Joubin who publishes the lid[87] describes them as fish with long muzzles and forked tails, perhaps porpoises. That diagnosis may serve for the pair at the left, in the illustration, for they lack the characteristic beak, but the pair on on the right fall well within the type of the L.M.III dolphin. The workmanship serves to date the larnax, and also the fact that with it were found only false-necked vases,[88] which belong to the decadent period.[89]

[84] *Cretan Pictographs*, 319. *Cf.* also *Culte du Soleil*, in *R.A.* XIV, 1909, 100.

[85] *Excavations at Palaikastro* I, in *B.S.A.* VIII, 297–302, Pls. XVIII and XIX.

[86] Galli, *loc. cit.* p. 104, figs. 51 and 52.

[87] *Urnes Funéraires Crétoises*, *B.C.H.* XVI, 1892, 295–298, fig. 2.

[88] *Ibid.* p. 295.

[89] *Cf.* Mackenzie, *J.H.S.* XXIII, 1903, 199.

A very handsome terracotta larnax is the one from Anoya (Messará)[90] with a design of an aquatic plant, aquatic birds, and "fish." The "fish" revert to the simplest type, but beaks, dorsal fins, and flukes are definitely indicated by fine lines. This larnax is especially interesting in that it has been used among other examples to prove divergent theories in connection with an amphora from Pitane, *q. v. infra.* Houssay[91] is quoted by Perrot et Chipiez[92] and by Lagrange[93] in order to use the larnax as an illustration of a doctrine of the generation of life from water by which Mycenaean thought is made to anticipate Ionian philosophy. Déchelette,[94] on the other hand, claims it to be an illustration of the prehistoric cult of the sun, in which the dolphins and the palm are connected with the Delian Apollo and the aquatic birds are the swans of the Hyperborean Apollo. Sir Arthur Evans,[95] opposing the Houssay theory, describes the larnax simply as a scene with water-plants, ducks, and fish, and Pottier,[96] who calls the animals dolphins, observes with great understanding that the larnax should be interpreted in the light of the limitations of the primitive potter, who chose for his decorative material the things which were the most easy for him to imitate from Nature, while his more skillful descendants attacked more difficult subjects.

On one end of a larnax dated in L.M.III,[97] from a chamber tomb at Milatos, is depicted a divinity apparently floating in the air above a "fish,"[98] and holding in her left hand a large body-shield of the figure 8 shape. From the shoulders issue rays, or wavy lines indicating locks of hair. In the *Prehistoric Tombs of Knossos* the broadside of the larnax is described as having a large fish similar to the one on the end and a very small fish beneath which are waving lines which probably symbolize water. The divinity with the shield probably represents the Minoan Goddess,[99] while the presence of the pisciform creatures in this connection indicates that they are intended for dolphins, and furthermore points to the identification of the goddess with

[90] P. Orsi, *Urne Funebri Cretesi Dipinte su Vasi allo Stile di Micene, Mon. Ant.* I, 1892, 205 ff., and Pl. I, 3. *Cf.* also *Antiquités Crêt. 1e Sér.* Pl. XXVII.

[91] *Les Théories de la Genèse à Mycènes et le Sens Zoologique de certains Symboles du Culte d'Aphrodite,* Paris, 1895, extrait de la *Revue archéologique,* quoted by Lagrange, p. 104.

[92] Vol. VI, 930, and fig. 490.

[93] *Op. cit.* pp. 104–105.

[94] *Culte du Soleil, R.A.* XIV, 1909, 94–123, fig. 34.

[95] *Cretan Pictographs,* 319, note 1.

[96] Pottier, *Cat. Louvre,* Part I, 190–191.

[97] Hall, *Aegean Archaeology,* London, 1915, 151.

[98] Evans, *Prehistoric Tombs of Knossos,* London, 1906, 98–103, fig. 107. Also *Mycenaean Tree and Pillar Cult, J.H.S.,* XXI, 1901, 174, fig. 50.

[99] *Palace of Minos,* II, 50.

Artemis Dictynna, the consort of Apollo Delphinius, who was sometimes called Delphinia.[100]

Another Late Minoan funeral urn or sarcophagus from Milatos is in the form of a bath.[101] The exterior is ornamented with conventional patterns of a geometric order, the interior, however, has wavy lines apparently to represent the shore and the waves of the sea. Around these play a number of fish which are smaller in proportion to the rest of the decoration than is usual in the case of dolphins, and yet which do not differ from the established method of portraying dolphins in Late Minoan art. The use of the pisciform dolphin in connection with burial jars and chests, especially in the L.M.III period, to which this bath may with all probability be assigned, indicates strongly that the animals upon it are dolphins.

In looking over the larnaces one is first tempted to ascribe the portrayal of dolphins to the artisan's selection of suitable or traditional material, and then to follow the lead of Pottier in his discussion of the larnax from Anoya, in rejecting the scientific and religious theories of Houssay and Déchelette, respectively. The former, it seems may be discarded on the grounds given by Pottier, but although Déchelette may be carrying his theory of the cult of the sun-god a little far, still the instinct inherent in man to express the mystery of worship in symbolism makes it difficult to reject entirely a hypothesis which substantiates to so great a degree the position taken that the pisciform representations in the debased art of the L.M. larnaces are dolphins.

In reviewing the representation of the dolphin throughout Minoan art, we find that it apparently exists over a period of a thousand years or more, from E.M.III or before, through L.M.III. In only two of these periods, however, does it occur in the accepted Curvilinear Type, namely in M.M.III and L.M.I. Accordingly, unless we admit that certain fish-like creatures may be interpreted as probable or pisciform dolphins by reason of the surrounding objects in representation, the dolphin in Minoan art is necessarily confined to a very brief period, the middle years, and admits of neither primitive forerunners nor decadent followers. Such a case is so improbable as to force us to look for dolphins in the pictographs, hieroglyphs, and rude pottery of the earlier periods, and in the degenerate forms of the pottery and larnaces of the later periods. But though the indication is very strong that these early and late forms are intended for dolphins, still it is only an indication, and may not yet be considered as proved.

[100] *Cf. ibid.* 844.

[101] Orsi, 204 ff; Perrot et Chipiez, Vol. VI, 456, fig. 171, for the illustration.

CHAPTER IV

HELLADIC AND CYCLADIC ART THE ART OF CYPRUS

Helladic Art

The relations between the pre-Hellenic culture of the Mainland the Cyclades, and Crete has been most clearly expressed in the studies of Wace and Blegen. From their observation of the pottery of the three localities, they conclude that Early Cycladic, Early Helladic, and Early Minoan ware are related, though they develop individually, Cretan art coming under the influence of Egypt,[1] while the native Helladic culture in its turn came under Cretan influence, which is apparent in the Late Helladic, or Mycenaean art.[2]

The studies of Wace and Blegen[3] and of Harland,[4] in the pottery of the Helladic periods have shown, moreover, that when the Mainland received the Cretan influence it was no longer the unmixed Helladic belonging to the same family as the Early Minoan and Early Cycladic, but was a mixture of the pure Helladic and a new strain which was ntroduced into the Peloponnesus by the coming of the Minyans.

Metal Work, Gems and Allied Arts

One of the importations from Crete into Helladic art appears to be the dolphin, as it is not found, apparently, on any objects earlier than the Shaft Graves at Mycenae which date from the M.H. period,[5] during which Minoan art began to exert an influence.

Between the end of M.H.I and the end of L.H.I is dated the Fifth Shaft Grave[6] which yielded an ostrich egg upon the surface of which faïence or paste dolphins are appliquéd.[7] One end of the egg is set

[1] *The Pre-Mycenaean Pottery of the Mainland, B.S.A.* XXII, 180.

[2] *Ibid.* pp. 188–189.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 189.

[4] *The Peloponnesus in the Bronze Age, Harvard Studies in Classical Philology,* XXXIV, 1923, 12–18, *passim. Cf.* also Wace, in *Cambridge Ancient History,* I, 607, who does not express a conviction that the appearance of Minyan ware on Helladic soil indicates a foreign racial element or an invasion from the North.

[5] A. J. B. Wace, *Excavations at Mycenae, B.S.A.* XXV, 119–120.

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] Stais, *Guide Illustré du Musée National d'Athènes, Collection Mycenienne,* II, 1909, 60–61, No. 828. Deonna (*Revue de l'Histoire des Religions,* LXXXIV-LXXXV, 1921–1922, 157–166) discusses this and similar eggs found in tombs of later periods in connection with death and also with Aphrodite, pointing out that the egg is a symbol of future life, its surface representing the water over which the dolphins convey the

into a low alabaster pedestal, and the other is finished with a gold button. The dolphins are a good example of the curvilinear type, with flukes in profile, flippers, and the dorsal fins springing directly from the outline of the brain-case. An effect of liveliness is given by their position, as some, from the spectator's point of view, are plunging upward or even somersaulting.[8] They have a pronounced ventral concavity. The early period to which the ostrich egg belongs may account for the comparative fineness in the representation of the dolphins, or it is quite possible that this unusual ornament may be a Minoan importation. The ostrich egg is an African product which may have come to Mycenae by way of Crete after having first been decorated with appliqué figures in the tradition of the dolphins from the burial jars at Pachyammos. K. Mueller[9] compares this piece to the well-known Minoan faïence relief work.

In the ensuing discussion of gems, metal-work, and allied arts there will be no attempt to date the several objects within the divisions of the Late Helladic period, except in cases where the original publisher has done so, or the date of the place of provenience is known as in the case of the ostrich egg from the Fifth Shaft Grave.

A number of gems represent the Helladic stone-cutter's art.

From the Vaphio Tomb comes a gem of yellow jasper[10] engraved with two dolphins which may be thought of as either following each other, or as swimming in opposite directions, *i.e.* their backs are toward the periphery of the gem, and they are so curved as to follow that outline and at the same time to fill the space in the centre. They are of the Simple Curvilinear Type, and with the exception of over large profile eyes, and profile flukes set off from their bodies by a ball, they are true enough to nature. The two flippers are shown, the off flipper in perspective, partly hidden by the near one. The noticeable feature in these dolphins is the use of striations apparently to indicate musculature. Two concentric lines are drawn just behind the beak,

dead, and at the same time the symbol of the universe from which springs the goddess who is carried ashore by the dolphin after her birth from the sea-foam.

[8] *Cf.* note 7. Stais states that the dolphins have been reaffixed to the egg, according to traces left upon it.

[9] *Fruehmykenische Reliefs aus Kreta und vom griechischen Festland, Jahrb. Arch. Inst.* XXX, 1915, 267.

[10] Tsountas, *Arch. Eph.* 1899, 164, and Pl. 10, No. 2; Furtwaengler, *Antike Gemmen*, Pl. III, 31; Perrot et Chipiez, VI, 847, fig. 431, 2. These authorities call the stone yellow jasper. Miss Richter, *Catalogue of Engraved Gems in the Metropolitan Museum*, New York, 1920, Introduction, lvii, states, however, that yellow jasper occurs only in the late Roman period.

lines follow the curve of the head down to the flipper whence other lines spring to follow the back down to the ball which sets off the tail. The flukes of the tail are sickle-shaped and deeply pennate. The drawing in Perrot et Chipiez shows that the flippers and back fin are similarly pennate. This is not true to nature. It is possible to infer that this gem dates from L.H.I, owing to its provenience, the Vaphio Tomb.[11]

A lenticular steatite gem of unknown provenience, now in the British Museum,[12] is grouped by Perrot et Chipiez[13] under Mycenaean, and by the British Museum Catalogue among the Earliest Greek gems. The decoration consists of an octopus, above which plunge to the right two typical dolphins, with additional lines to indicate gills.

A lentoid steatite gem in the Story-Maskelyne collection which Furtwaengler classifies as Mycenaean,[14] without stating its provenience, is incised with the image of a deer which has fallen to its knees, and is looking backwards. Two very fine typical curvilinear dolphins fill the spaces at the top and left side of the gem.

At Amyclae in Laconia, a lentoid sard decorated with three dolphins has been found,[15] which Tsountas publishes as fish. They are easily recognized as dolphins, however, by the distinct curve of the brain-case and the long beak. There is also a concavity of the ventral outline which is pronounced in the two outside dolphins. The middle dolphin has a convex ventral outline, and for matters of spacing is drawn relatively straight. These dolphins are not all made to face in the same direction as on the Minoan stone (*vide supra*), but the two outside dolphins have their backs to the ends of the seal, and thus face each other. The middle dolphin follows the direction of one outside dolphin and is separated by an incised line from the other.

Blegen discovered at the Argive Heraeum in 1925 a bronze dagger[16] inlaid with one gold and one silver dolphin, which has not yet been published.

A gold cup from the Third Shaft Grave at Mycenae is ornamented with typical plunging dolphins in repoussé.[17] The exterior is divided

[11] *Cf.* Fimmen, *Die kretisch-mykenische Kunst*, Leipzig, 1921, 190.

[12] *British Museum Catalogue of Gems*, No. 11. They are here called tunny-fish.

[13] *Op. cit.* VI, Pl. XVI, No. 4, and pp. 848 and 858.

[14] Furtwaengler, *Antike Gemmen*, Pl. VI, 26.

[15] Tsountas, *Arch. Eph.* 1891, 13, and Pl. IV, 3.

[16] *A.J.A.* XXIX, 1925, 356; *J.H.S.* XLV, 1925, 211.

[17] Schliemann, *Mycenae*, New York, 1878, 204–205, No. 317. The provenience dates the cup L.H. I. *Cf.* Wace, *B.S.A.* XXV, 120.

into two fields about equal in width by a horizontal band in relief. At the top of each field is a series of waved lines and dots which recalls the effect of spray and rocks on the burial jar from Pachyammos. In either field five dolphins leap along in a game of follow the leader, in the upper one they proceed towards the handle, in the lower they follow the reverse direction. In each field two dolphins appear to be leaping up out of the water, *i.e.* they are set at an angle with their heads pointing towards the upper limit of the field, and they have a convex ventral and concave dorsal outline, contrary to the usual convention to which the other six adhere. The dolphins have beaks, full-front eyes, profile flukes, short flippers and dorsal fins which rise from the curve of the brain case, and, in addition, lines which start at the head and curve into the flippers, then rise from the flippers to follow the outline of the body to the tail in the manner of the L.H.III dolphins from the floorings in the Palace at Tiryns (*q.v. infra*). Five of the dorsal fins have lines to indicate rays.

The dolphin with the reversed curvature has not been met in Cretan art. The examples on this cup, and on pottery, indicate that it is a Helladic rather than a Minoan convention.

Another gold cup ornamented with octopuses and dolphins is described by the Swedish archaeologist, Persson, who discovered it in excavating a tomb at Dendrá not far from Mycenae.[18] He dates it from the XVI century B.C., *i.e.* L.H.I, and considers that it is probably Cretan.

Helladic Vases

The Stucco Floorings at Tiryns

The dolphin appears on Late Helladic vases in less beautiful and more primitive form than it is found in other phases of Late Helladic art, as for instance in metal work, engraving, or in the painting represented by the stucco floors at Tiryns. The sherds which have been preserved would appear to have come from the period closely approaching, or within the limits of the Dorian invasion, for which the archaeological evidence is strong, and which heralded the decline of art.[19]

Madame Oulié has an illustration of a very crude dolphin from Mycenae which she dates from L.M.I,[20] to which L.H.I is considered

[18] *Art and Archaeology*, Dec. 1926, 238 ff.

[19] Harland, *op. cit.* 49 ff.

[20] Oulié, *op. cit.* fig. 66, opp. p. 86, and p. 93, note 2, where the sherd is stated to be in the Athens Museum, unnumbered. Madame Oulié's dating is accepted here on the

the corresponding period in Mainland art.[21] The dolphin, of which the head portion only is shown, is drawn with the long beak open, and each jaw represented by a single line. There are two rows of sharp teeth, a naturalistic touch. The eye is round, and appears to be located within the open mouth, just back of the teeth. The painter had, it seems, intended to paint or reserve a light triangle around the eye, and omitted the line which would mark it off from the beak.

No pottery from L.H.II with dolphin decoration has, it seems, been preserved.

L.H. III ware is represented by a stirrup vase from Spata in Attica.[22] About the body are four concentric bands between which swim creatures described by Haussoullier[23] as large fish. The open mouth and round eye with a pupil resemble the mouth and eye of the so-called dolphin on the Cretan stirrup vase from Cnossus discussed above. There appear to be similar horizontal lines along the body, and the tail is fluked. These pisciform dolphins, have a convex ventral outline and a concave dorsal outline, the reverse of the Cretan type, but which, as has been stated, is found in other examples of Late Helladic art.

Furtwaengler, in dividing Mycenaean vases (our L.H. ware) into four styles, states that the third style immediately precedes the Dipylon Vases, while the fourth style is contemporary with the Dipylon.[24] We have, therefore, examples of the final stage of the L.H.III period in the two sherds from Mycenae reproduced in the *Atlas*. The first, a sherd of the third style,[25] displays the head and a portion of the body of a creature which Furtwaengler calls a fish. The long mouth is open, and the ends of the jaws are sharp though hardly beak-like. There is a round eye with a pupil, two gill lines, two pectoral fins and horizontal lines drawn from the gills along the body, in a manner which suggests the sherd from Cnossus, which represents an un-

ground that she has seen the sherd, and may be attributing it for other reasons besides the drawing, which when compared to productions of L.H. I, must be recognized as very inferior and more on a par with L.H. II work.

[21] Blegen, *Korakou*, 121.

[22] (*a*) *Catalogue descripitif des objets découverts à Spata*, *B.C.H.* II, 1878, 227–228, Pl. XIX, 2. (*b*) *Cf.* also Furtwaengler-Loeschcke, *Atlas*, Pl. XVII, 111; *Text*, 36. (*c*) Mackenzie, *J.H.S.* XXIII, 1903, 198, note 35, compares the "fish" with indisputable examples of dolphins. This vase is dated by comparison with the stirrup vase from Cnossus, *cf.* p. 31, *supra.*

[23] *Ibid.* (*a*).

[24] Furtwaengler-Loeschcke, *Text, Vorwort*, p. XI.

[25] *Ibid. Text*, 66; *Atlas*, Pl. XXXIX, No. 402.

mistakable dolphin.[26] It is highly probable that the Late Helladic artist who produced the design on the L. H. III sherd in question here is doing it from some Minoan prototype, perhaps remembered, perhaps unskillfully copied, which harks back to the Pachyammos dolphins for its model.

The second sherd[27] belongs to the fourth Mycenaean style, contemporary with the Dipylon. In a debased and primitive manner two creatures are drawn, which Furtwaengler terms *"raupenartig."*[28] It is possible, however, that the curvature of the body, the diverging lines at what may be taken for the tail, the pairs of lines along the back and belly which probably represent fins, and the loop at the tail may be a clumsy artisan's attempt to follow the bounding outline, the flukes, and the ball at the tail portion of Minoan dolphins. It is a conjecture which appears more likely than that they are imitations of caterpillars. The rows of dots along the body may be a modification of the long horizontal lines which were used in the Late Minoan period in Crete, and were followed, it seems, in the sherd from the Third Mycenaean style discussed above.

Tsountas and Manatt[29] publish a terracotta fragment which represents a Mycenaean boat with oars and rudder, below which are objects they call dolphins. The dolphins in question are curved and oblong, with triangular dashes at the blunt end to indicate the dorsal fin. The style of the entire painting is very impressionistic and free, and in its crudity so different from the crudity of the geometricized work of the third and fourth Myceanean styles[30] that one is tempted to assign the fragment to an earlier period. If these are dolphins, they represent the sea, and are apparently drawn with the convex ventral outline and its concomitant dorsal concavity.

In addition to the remains of L. H. pottery found on the mainland and in the Peloponnesus, there are three interesting examples of vases ornamented with what we may take to be dolphins, which are ordinarily included among Mycenaean ware, two of which come from Ialysus in Rhodes, and the third from Pitane in Aeolis.

A large and handsome false-necked amphora,[31] which may be dated

[26] Mackenzie, *J.H.S.* XXIII, 1903, 198, fig. 14.

[27] Furtwaengler-Loeschcke, *Text*, 67; *Atlas*, Pl. XL, No. 418*a*.

[28] *Ibid. Text*, 67.

[29] *The Mycenaean Age*, Boston and New York, 1897, 333–334, fig. 158.

[30] Furtwaengler-Loeschcke, *Text, Vorwort*, p. XI.

[31] This vase is in the Museo dello Spedale dei Cavalieri in Rhodes, No. 2805, and is cited by kind permission of the Superintendent of Monuments and Excavations of

in the L.M. III period, comes from the necropolis of Ialysus. It is ornamented upon the shoulder with waterfowl and dolphins crudely executed in the decadent style, with sharp open beaks, having an indication of teeth, eyes and gills also indicated, and with three dorsal and two ventral fins. The flukes do not appear, as they are cut off by the upper band of the decoration of the belly of the vase. The interesting feature of this amphora is the placing of a dolphin at either juncture of the handle with the shoulder. Later, we shall see the dolphin used in connection with the handles in Black-Figured Attic cylices.

A cup from Ialysus[32] is ornamented with two bands, the upper decorated with waterfowls, the lower with "fish" which resemble the L.M. dolphins of the terracotta larnaces (*vide supra*). Tsountas and Manatt[33] compare this cup both in form and design to the gold cup from the Third Shaft Grave at Mycenae (*vide infra*) which is ornamented with unmistakable dolphins of the Queen's Megaron type. Assuming this comparison to be true, and in view of the shape and comparatively good drawing, this cup should not be dated later than the earlier years of L.H. III. The gold cup from the Third Shaft Grave, which represents a metallic prototype for such pottery forms as the cup from Ialysus, is to be dated within the limits of L.H. I,[34] but Furtwaengler indicates that the cup from Ialysus falls within his third period of the Mycenaean style,[35] which, as we have seen, immediately precedes the Dipylon style.

A very interesting false-necked amphora was found at Pitane in Aeolis and is now in Constantinople.[36] Déchelette attributes it to a late phase of Mycenaean art.[37] The fact that it is a stirrup vase would place it in the L.M.II period, or later, or in the corresponding M.H. period.[38] The decoration consists of a large octopus with its tentacles enveloping the vase, and among which are waterfowl, dolphins, a hedgehog, a disk with rays, *et cetera*. Perrot et Chipiez[39], who publish

the Aegean Islands, Signore G. Jacopich. For the dating, *cf.* the false-necked amphora in the British Museum, p. 31, *supra*.

[32] Furtwaengler-Loeschcke, *Atlas*, Pl. X, No. 63, A and B; *Text*, 17; Perrot et Chipiez, VI, 920, fig. 474.

[33] *The Mycenaean Age*, 243, note 1. *Cf.* Schliemann, *Mycenae*, 205, No. 317.

[34] Wace, *B.S.A.* XXV, 121.

[35] Furtwaengler-Loeschcke, *Text*, 4.

[36] *Culte du Soleil*, *R.A.* XIV, 1909, 94.

[37] *Ibid.* p. 99.

[38] *Cf.* Mackenzie, *J.H.S.* XXIII, 1903, 199, and *Palace of Minos*, I, 610. Also Fimmen, *op. cit.* pp. 210–211.

[39] *Op. cit.* VI, 924 ff., and figs. 489 and 491.

the illustration of this vase, quote at length the interpretation of a zoologist, Houssay, to the effect that it records a Mycenaean belief in the spontaneous generation of all forms of life from water, and thus anticipates Ionian philosophy. Houssay calls to witness the larnax from Anoya (*vide supra*) on which waterfowl, "fish", a plant, and rayed disks are united, which, he says, express the same thought.

Déchelette interprets the false-necked amphora from Pitane and also the larnax from Anoya in terms of religion rather than natural philosophy. He relates it to the worship of the sun, and enumerates the following sun-symbols which occur upon the vase: the wheel and its derivations,[40] the disk with a cross in the centre, the rayed disk, and concentric circles. The first are represented by the tentacles of the octopus curled around to form a circle in the centre of which is sketched a cross. The concentric circles are represented by the eyes of the octopus, which are of unusual size. The rayed disk is found between the tentacles of the octopus on one side, and Déchelette suggests that the "hedge-hog" on the opposite side is probably a mistake of the draughtsman, and also to be thought of as a rayed disk.[41]

Of the animals which Déchelette enumerates as symbols of the sun, there are upon this vase a horse, the draft-animal of the sun's chariot, ten water birds or swans, the symbol of the Hyperborean Apollo,[42] four dolphins, the symbol of the Delian or Delphinian Apollo.[43] These dolphins, which Déchelette also names as such, are of the Curvilinear Type, and quite unmistakable although degenerate, as the period of the vase implies.

Of the octopus in which all these symbols are entangled, Déchelette notes[44] that its relation to the cult of the sun and to Apollo is difficult to trace. He observes, however, that it was undoubtedly sacred to the Mycenaeans, and calls attention to the representation of the octopus in conjunction with the dolphin on Greek vases of the classical period, beneath the tripod of Apollo or the chariot of the sun.[45]

Déchelette, accordingly, regards this interesting amphora and also the fine Cretan larnax from Anoya discussed above, as decorated with symbols of the sun-god including the dolphin. His theory is

[40] *R.A.* XIV, 98. *Cf.* also p. 97, fig. 33.
[41] *Ibid.* pp. 98–99.
[42] *Cf. Culte du Soleil, R. A.* XIII, 334.
[43] *Ibid.* p. 334.
[44] *R.A.* XIV, 99.
[45] *Ibid.*

advanced in contradiction to that of Houssay, the zoologist, which is approved and quoted by Perrot et Chipiez.[46]

The expression of Pottier in regard to this vase has already been noted with reference to the larnax from Anoya (*vide supra*). There remains only to recall to mind that he rejects the explanations of both Déchelette and Houssay in favor of the simpler theory that the decorations were suggested by the natural surroundings of the potter and carried out in accordance with his limited ability.

In following the dolphin throughout the periods of pre-Hellenic art, and later in Geometric art, Déchelette's theory has been noted in the case of the amphora of Pitane, the Cretan burial larnaces, and certain fibulae, more as a matter of corroboration than of conviction. In other instances it is preferable to follow Pottier in interpreting the objects in the light of the craftsman's background and opportunities, being mindful of the humble position of the potter or stone-cutter, of his native talent and little skill, and of the natural beauty of his surroundings from which his models were derived either first-hand, or from tradition.

In addition to the remains of Helladic painting which have come down to us on vases, we have the painting of designs in which dolphins are prominent on the stucco flooring of the Great Megaron, and also of a smaller room in the L.H.III Palace of Tiryns.[47]

The floor of the Great Megaron of the Palace at Tiryns is paved with stucco or cement painted in a design of squares, in which a scale pattern alternates with octopuses and pairs of dolphins in heraldic position back to back, against a light blue background.[48] The orientation of the design is such that the dolphins are drawn plunging head down towards a reserved square[49] at the western wall[50] of the Megaron. A similar design is found on the floor of Room XXI of the Palace[51] where the background is also light blue. The orientation of this design is such that the dolphins plunge head downwards towards a door leading into Corridor XIX on the west.[52] Rodenwaldt[53] considers these patterns to be imitations of rugs.

[46] *Cf.* note 39.

[47] *Cf.* Rodenwaldt, *Tiryns*, II, 1, which indicates that the stucco pavements belong to the later palace, dating from L.H. III. *Cf.* Fimmen, *Die kretisch-mykenische Kultur*, 211.

[48] R. Haekl, in Rodenwaldt, *Tiryns*, II, 223–232, figs. XIX and XXI, 3.

[49] *Ibid.* fig. XIX, and p. 224.

[50] *Ibid.* p. 223.

[51] *Ibid.* pp. 226–232, figs. 80 and 81.

[52] *Ibid.* p. 226.

[53] *Ibid.* p. 232.

The similarity in the designs of both floorings point to work of the same period,[54] but probably by different artists, or rather painters, for these stiff and prosaic creatures placed back to back cannot be attributed to the hand of one who combines originality with skill. There is, however, sufficient difference in detail to make the study of each interesting.

The dolphins of the Great Megaron are the more conventionalized of the two designs.[55] Their bodies have the long swinging dorsal curve and concave ventral outline in darker blue against the light blue background. The dorsal fin is correctly indicated in the silhouette. The fluked tails are in profile, the flippers are shown, the off one in perspective. All this, including the outline of the rounded brain-case which is continued to the ventral outline, is done in a solid blue. The beak is outlined in the same, the interior being reserved from the darker blue outline and the light blue background. The beak is blunt and continues the sweep of the ventral outline without a break. The belly is reserved white like the beak, and broken by the blue outline of the flipper and brain-case, into two sections. There is a fine red line outlining the upper contour of each section. The eye is omitted.[56]

Rodenwaldt finds these dolphins more slender and elegant than the dolphins in the flooring of Room XXI of the Palace, and the latter truer to nature because of the thickening at the tail.[57] Not for this but for other reasons are these more natural. There is a twist to the waving flukes which, accidentally or otherwise, indicates that the painter is showing horizontal flukes in perspective, and the beak is more pointed. The dorsal fins have been restored according to those of the dolphins in the Great Megaron. A large full-front eye fills the forward reserved space, and the off flipper is reserved.

These dolphins do not belong to fine art, but to house decoration. They are not beautiful in themselves. They probably made an effective if perhaps a monotonous flooring in their combination with the wave or scale pattern and octopuses, but they should not be thought of in other terms than our modern tiles.

Cycladic Art

The dolphin in Cycladic art seems to have come down to us only in remains of vases, of which the earliest date from the E.C. period.

[54] *Ibid.* p. 230.

[55] *Cf. ibid.* Pl. XXI, fig. 3.

[56] From this plate. In the smaller representations on Pl. XIX it is present.

[57] *Ibid.* p. 230.

Wace[58] mentions lead models of boats and representations of boats on a certain vase from the E. C. period, and describes the designs of E. C. pottery "among which fish and boats are introduced." Although he does not make any more definite statement, we may suppose that he is designating the ships bearing "fish" ensigns at their prows on incised pans from Syros.[59] Déchelette uses these E.C. incised sketches to illustrate his theory of the solar barque, calling the ensign a representation of the sun in the form of a dolphin, and carrying the literary parallel into the Hymn to the Pythian Apollo.[60]

Svoronos,[61] on the other hand, suggests that the "fish" is at the stern and is a *πομπίλος* (Gasterosteus ductor L.),[62] or fish that follows ships, and that it is used as a weather-vane.[63] With Svoronos' statement that the sterns of ships are represented on the incised pans from Syros it is necessary to compare the drawing from a L.H. pyxis (*Buechse*) from the Tholos at Pylos which illustrates an ancient ship in full, not in half, as do the Syros vases, and places the "fish" unmistakably at the prow.[64] As it is evident that whether at the prow or at the stern, none of these animals resemble dolphins except those of the Pisciform Type, it becomes necessary to invoke Déchelette's solar myths to substantiate an argument for identifying them with the subject of this thesis. This would seem at first to exclude any acceptance of Svoronos' suggestions, were there not among mariners the superstition that dolphins are weather prophets,[65] which admirably suits them for weather-vane images. Thus both Déchelette's and Svoronos' articles point towards the identification of the "fish" on the vases from Syros as dolphins, but there is no proof.

The finest representation of Cycladic pottery ornamented with dolphins is the well-known "Fisherman Vase" from Phylakopi on

[58] *Cambridge Ancient History*, I, 600.

[59] C. Dugas, *La Céramique des Cyclades*, Paris, 1925, *Resumé chronologique* following p. 277, dates this pottery from 1600–1500, *i.e.* L.C.I. Sir Arthur Evans, *Palace of Minos*, II, 241, note 1, dates these examples mostly in E.C.III.

[60] *Culte du Soleil*, *R.A.* XIII, 327, and 325, fig. 12.

[61] Svoronos, *Arch. Delt.* VI, 1920–21, 27, note 2.

[62] *Cf.* Liddell and Scott.

[63] Svoronos, *loc. cit.* pp. 26–27.

[64] *Cf. Arch. Anz.* XXX, 1915, 191–192, fig. 6.

[65] *Cf.* Lucan, *Bellum Civile*, ed. A. E. Housman, Oxford, 1926, V, 552–556; Isidor, *Etymologiae*, XII, 6, 11; Artemidorus, *Onirocrita*, ed. R. Hercher, Leipzig, 1864, I, 16, p. 110. The fact that the E.C. vases are prehistoric does not lessen the value of the ancient literary sources, for such superstitions appear to antedate literary records.

the island of Melos.[66] This is in all probability a lamp-stand.[67] The publishers of *Phylakopi* attribute it to the early Mycenaean school (pp. 123-124), which may be supposed to correspond with M.C.III.[68] The decoration consists of four men marching single file upon a dotted ground work that apparently represents pebbles. In either hand the men carry by the tail a dolphin, with the exception of one man who carries only one dolphin. The figures of the men are drawn with heads in profile and immense full-front eyes, triangular bodies full-front, and legs in profile. Their short and spindling arms are joined to the dolphins' tails without the intervention of hands. They are clad in the Mycenaean loin-cloth, and between their heads are three heart-shaped ivy leaves arranged in a triangle.

The dolphins are typical, but have, however, certain points worth noting.[69] The flukes are in profile, but very small. In five of the dolphins the ventral outline is nearly straight, in two it is convex at the head portion and becomes concave at the tail. The bellies are light, outlined with a rippling line against the dark backs, and with parallel dark stripes. The lightness of the belly is carried out behind the round dark outline of the eye almost to the top of the head. The eye is outlined with wide concentric circles, the outer dark, the inner light, and has a dark pupil. In the majority of the dolphins it occupies the entire side of the head.[70] In one case, at least, the belly extends below it.[71] The heads are typical, having the rounded brain-case and beak. The back fins appear to be furnished with rays and membrane, and the effacement of the painting makes it impossible to determine whether ventral fins or flippers were the original intention of the artist. Madame Oulié[72] remarks that these cannot be dolphins as their tails lack the characteristic ball. In the detailed sketch in *Phylakopi* (fig. 95), however, the dolphin held in the man's right hand has at the tail two semi-circular outlines which appear to indicate the presence of that unnatural addition.

Dugas includes this vase among the earliest pottery of the Cyclades under Cretan influence,[73] in which he is expressing substan-

[66] *Excavations at Phylakopi in Melos, J.H.S. Suppl. Paper*, No. 4, 1904, 123–125, fig. 95, and Pl. XXII.

[67] *Ibid.* p. 123.

[68] Dugas, *Cyclades*, p. 72, and *Resumé chronologique*, opp. p. 277, includes this vase in the period from 1800–1600.

[69] *Cf. Phylakopi*, fig. 95.

[70] *Phylakopi*, Pl. XXII.

[71] *Ibid.* fig. 95.

[72] *Op. cit.* p. 93.

[73] *Cyclades*, 57.

tially the same opinion as Edgar, the editor of the pottery of Phylakopi.[74] It is of interest to note in substantiation of Dugas' attribution of the vase to Minoan influence, the striking resemblance of one of the dolphins to those on the L.M. I rhyton from Pseira (*vide supra*).

The small size of these dolphins is notable, especially when the lamp base is thought of in terms of the name by which it is regularly known, the "Fisherman Vase." Dolphins are not small enough for a man to carry by the tail. A hint at an interpretation is given by Edgar, who suggests a similarity to the Greek custom of placing a dolphin in the hand of Poseidon.[75] Poseidon or rather Posoidan was an important deity of the Minyans,[76] the dominant people of the Middle Helladic civilization of the Peloponnesus,[77] and this Posoidan was probably a Minyan assimilation of the sea-god of the "Aigaians,"[78] who were the dominant race of the Early Helladic civilization,[79] which in turn was related to the early culture of the Cyclades.[80] We have therefore strong evidence that Poseidon worship was in existence in Melos at a time previous to the making of the so-called "Fisherman Vase," so that it is possible to think of the representation as a procession of priests or temple servitors carrying the sacred emblem of the god.[81] It must not be forgotten, however, that it is equally possible to fix the same hypothesis upon another god, whose worship originated in Crete, the dolphin-god, Apollo Delphinius.

A fragment of a vase[82] presumably of the M.C.III period[83] shows a portion of a bird borne upon the back of a dolphin, the identity of which, although it lacks the head, is unmistakable because of the accurately placed and relatively correctly drawn back fin, the fluked

[74] *Phylakopi*, 118.

[75] *Ibid.* p. 123.

[76] Harland, *op. cit.* p. 21. Noack, in *Ath. Mitt.* XIX, 1894, 475, ascribes the spread of the Poseidon cults, especially of the cult of Poseidon Gaiaochos, to the Minyans.

[77] Harland, *op. cit.* p. 6.

[78] *Ibid.* p. 22.

[79] *Ibid.* p. 6.

[80] *Ibid.* p. 10.

[81] This runs counter to Engelmann, in *Arch. Anz.* XIV, 1899, p. 199, who states that Poseidon's attribute, the tunny, was replaced by the dolphin only at a later date.

[82] *Phylakopi*, 121, fig. 93. Hall, *Aegean Archaeology*, London, 1915, 86, fig. 21, calls this a fresco.

[83] Dugas, *Cyclades*, 70–71, and *Résumé chronologique* following p. 177.

tail, the convex dorsal and concave ventral outline, and the white reserved spaces along the body, upon which are drawn in dark paint wavy horizontal lines and the outline of a gill. This fragment is comparable in subject to the Late Minoan III vase from the tomb at Phaistos (*vide supra*), which it undoubtedly antedates, if the style alone were considered, and the type of the dolphin is closely allied to that of the much cruder (and later) dolphin on the L.M.II vase from Cnossus.[84] Edgar, in publishing this fragment, calls the dolphin a fish. It is interesting to note in this connection that Dugas has not the slightest doubt that it is a dolphin.[85]

To the same period probably belongs the fragment[86] of a cup on which the tail portion of a "fish" is preserved. The division into flukes, the ventral and dorsal curve (it is supposed that the belly of the fish is towards the foot of the cup) and the dark line along the body indicate that this is a fragment of a dolphin.

Another fragment of similar ware[87] gives the outline of a fish with wavy flukes and a rather abrupt curve to the ventral concavity. This vase strongly recalls the L.M.III stirrup vase from Cnossus,[88] so that one is tempted to ascribe it to L.C.III.

Fragment 6 on the same plate represents a small beaked head which might for the same reason as easily belong to a Late Cycladic III dolphin, as to a bird.

From Phylakopi comes also a hand-basin or foot-bath with the inside decorated with a row of typical, if very roughly sketched, dolphins, characterised by fluked tails, dorsal fins, a ventral fin or flipper, a large round eye, and spirals in dark paint on the light body.[89] These follow the tradition which the examination of the preceding vases has shown to be typical of Late Cycladic art. They are painted in "matt black," as are most of the fragments of such vessels,[90] in a style careless and rough, but still adhering closely enough to nature to permit the identification of the animals as dolphins, and to place it within the Late Cycladic III period.

The truth of Wace's and Blegen's statement that the Minoan, Helladic, and Cycladic cultures are branches of one original stock is

[84] *Cf.* p. 30, *supra.*
[85] Dugas, *Cyclades*, 70–71.
[86] *Phylakopi*, Pl. XVI, 21.
[87] *Ibid.* Pl. XXI, 15.
[88] *Cf.* p. 31, *supra.*
[89] *Phylakopi*, 141, and fig. 113, p. 140.
[90] *Ibid.* p. 141.

substantiated by the similarity in the examples of dolphins from these three pre-Hellenic sources. In comparing the art of the Islands and Mainland with Minoan art we find that the Cycladic forms offer no innovation in development which can be directly connected with the representation of dolphins. In the Helladic forms, on the other hand, we have two innovations, the reverse curvature of the dolphin and the use of the dolphin as a filler of space, which will be found to be very common in the art of the historic periods.

THE ART OF CYPRUS

Cyprus affords so few examples of dolphins that it seems best to group some of them together, at this point, leaving others which do not seem to be of such local types to fall within the divisions of the treatment of the art of the historical periods.

Sir Arthur Evans[91] compares a Cypriote cylinder[92] to the tunny fish pictograph of Crete which has been discussed above as a probable dolphin. This cylinder is decorated with a school of fish alternating two and three deep between reticulated bands. Judging only from the reproduction in *Salaminia* the similarity in the type of fish on the Cretan pictograph and the Cypriote cylinder is not marked. But the fact, however, that Sir Arthur Evans, who has no doubt seen the cylinder, states that such a similarity of type exists, and the grouping of the fish into a school, are suggestive of dolphins. It is noteworthy, however, that Sir Arthur Evans compares this same cylinder with another Cretan pictograph which he originally, though with hesitancy, called a fish,[93] and which in a later work he has named "Sepia".[94]

Among the Mycenaean pottery from Cyprus is a bowl on which is a frieze of three fishes. One of these is represented[95] as very similar to the L.H.I dolphin[96] with the long beak furnished with teeth, just back of which the eye is placed. A comparison of the L.H.I dolphin with this example makes the former more intelligible. Artistic license has decorated the dorsal and ventral profiles of the Cypriote dolphin with wavy lines, presumably to indicate finlets. The identification thus depends upon the long beak and the fluked tail.

[91] *Cretan Pictographs*, 308, No. 33.
[92] Di Cesnola, *Salaminia*, London, 1882, Pl. XIV, No. 48.
[93] *Cretan Pictographs*, 309, No. 34.
[94] *Scripta Minoa*, I, 205, No. 60.
[95] *Br. Mus. Cat. Vases*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 128, No. C671, fig. 245.
[96] P. 39, *supra*.

Near Hala Sultan Tekke, Larnaka, was found a L.M.II sherd with a pisciform dolphin, similar to those of the period, with a long beak and heavy, apparently striated, fins.[97]

To the Graeco-Phoenician period of Cypriote art which succeeds the Mycenaean,[98] belongs a vase which is included in this chapter for the sake of convenience. The vase, an amphora in the style of Amathus,[99] is decorated with bands and lozenges on the neck, and bands upon the body, and has on either side in the panel between the vertical handles, a dolphin, on the obverse facing right, on the reverse facing left. The animal is unmistakable, although the work is extremely crude. The body of the dolphin is done in dark paint with reserved spaces. The back is curved, the belly flat, there is a long, open beak from which the rounded brain-case rises. A small triangle in outline represents the back fin, another line represents a second back fin, and there are two similar ventral fins. The tail is fluked. The round eye is made by a reserved ring which outlines a black pupil, there are three reserved gill lines, and on the flank a herring bone pattern of reserved lines meeting in a point towards the tail.

Part of a stone bowl from Golgoi, now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York,[100] has a foot on which is carved in relief a snake coiled above a dolphin, which is typical, though it has the Helladic reverse curvature. The work is coarse, and to Keller suggests great antiquity.[101] Myres indicates that it is not earlier than the Fifth or Fourth Century B.C.[102]

[97] *Br. Mus. Cat. Vases*, Vol. I, Part I, pp. 115–116, No. A 706, fig. 151. It is attributed to L.M. II in the Catalogue although the provenience is Cyprus.

[98] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, Part II, Introduction, p. xvi.

[99] *Ibid.*, p. 194, No. C959, fig. 334.

[100] Myres, *Handbook of the Cesnola Collection of Antiquities from Cyprus*, New York, 1914, 309–310, No. 1863. *Cf.* Cesnola, *Cyprus*, 144, for illustration.

[101] *Thiere des class. Altert.* 418, note 41.

[102] *Cesnola Collection*, 301.

CHAPTER V

GEOMETRIC ART

With the approximate date 1100 B.C. the pre-Hellenic art of Crete, the Islands, and the Mainland is brought to a close by the Dorian Invasion[1] and its place taken by Geometric art, which finds its best expression in the Dipylon ware of Athens. There is a question whether the new art was brought in by the invaders from the north, or was the indigenous art of the country which came forward after the destruction of the pre-Hellenic conquering races who produced the Minoan, Helladic, and Cycladic styles.[2]

The Fibula

The fibula was introduced by the "Achaian" Invasion from the North which overran the Peloponnesus about 1400 B.C.[3] This is an earlier wave of the traditional Dorian Invasion.[4]

Several examples are found in the Peloponnesus and elsewhere, especially in Boeotia, of early fibulae with geometric ornamentation including fish, which merit examination in view of their possible interpretation as dolphins.

Déchelette[5] discusses two Boeotian "sail" fibulae which are better illustrated in Perrot et Chipiez[6] than in his own article, as both obverse and reverse of the sheath are shown. The first of these has on the obverse two large and one small "fish," which are of the simplest type consisting of an elliptical body finished off with a triangular tail not divided into flukes, and with one fin on one side and a pair of fins on the other, with the exception of the little fish which has but one fin. The head of the small fish and of one of the large ones is set off from the body by fine parallel lines, and the bodies of all the fish are filled in with parallel crosswise strips of zig-zag lines, with the exception of the heads, tails, and fins. These parallel strips might be taken to indicate scales, if they were not used as filling of the swastica on the reverse, on the body of the horse, and on the swans and the side of the boat on the second fibula. The same pattern,

[1] Harland, *op. cit.* p. 62.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 50, and note 1.
[3] Harland, *op. cit.* pp. 30–34.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 62.
[5] *Culte du Soleil, R.A.* XIV, 103.
[6] *Op. cit.* VII, 254, figs. 126, 127, 128, 129.

which is common enough in Geometric art, is used to outline the border of obverse and reverse in the case of both fibulae.

The second Boeotian fibula has upon the obverse a horse, a swan, and a star, upon the reverse two swans, a boat with crew, and zigzag lines to indicate water, beneath which are two "fish" exactly like those of the first Boeotian fibula.

We have, therefore, in these two fibulae a fairly representative assortment of primitive solar symbols according to Déchelette. The first with the swastica and pisciform dolphins representing the Delian Apollo, the second with the horse to draw the sun-chariot, the swan to represent the Hyperborean Apollo, and finally the boat and dolphins.

A third Boeotian sail fibula[7] of much finer workmanship than the two preceding, if one may judge from the reproduction, represents upon the square sheath a boat, upon the bow and stern of which is perched a swan. Between the mast and stern rigging is a cross with petal-shaped arms. Below the boat is sketched a fairly representative dolphin. The point of the head is effaced so that it is impossible to determine whether or not there was a beak, there is an eye, lacking in the fibulae mentioned above, and the tail is fluked. With the exception of a differentiation between the dorsal and ventral outlines in this dolphin (the dorsal outline is curved and the ventral straight) it resembles the dolphins of the preceding Boeotian fibulae in regard to the details of fins and zigzag ornamentation of the body. Wolters, in publishing this fibula refers to the dolphin as a fish[8] and the swans as birds. He adds, however, that the other side of the sheath is decorated with a horse and a bird, both of the customary type.[9]

Walters describes a fibula in the British Museum, which he states is similar to the foregoing one and on which he mentions a dolphin.[10]

Other Geometric fibulae, of which one is from Thisbe in Boeotia, are listed among the acquisitions of the Berlin Antiquarium.[11] The two illustrated have the "navicella" shape instead of the spiral with the "sail" sheath. The third is described as a fibula of the Dipylon type,[12] but is not illustrated. The fibula from Thisbe, although different in

[7] Wolters, *Arch. Eph.* 1892, 232–33, Pl. XI, 1.

[8] *Ibid.* p. 232, states it is exactly like one published in *Zeitschrift fuer Ethnologie*, 1889, 223.

[9] *Ibid.* p. 233.

[10] *Catalogue of the Bronzes in the British Museum*, p. 9, No. 121.

[11] *Arch. Anz.* IX, 1894, 115–116, figs. 1 and 2 (p. 116).

[12] *I.e.* "sail" fibula. *Cf.* E. Reisinger, *Geometrische Fibeln in Muenchen, Jahrb. Arch. Inst.* XXXI, 1916, 296.

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shape, belongs in decoration to the three aforementioned fibulae from Boeotia. The design appears to be much finer, and is perhaps from a later period of Geometric art, for on either side of the "navicella" the solar symbols are relegated to one half of the crescent which is divided into two fields by the large solar disk, while a scene of combat occupies the other half. We find here the swan, the rayed disk, the horse, the boat ornamented with parallel stripes of zigzag, and the dolphin which appears from the sketch (fig. 1) to be quite typical.

The second fibula, also of the "navicella" type is, judging from the illustration of one side, completely devoted to symbolizing the sun. The center is filled with a large solar disk, on either side is a swastica, one of which is decorated with the zigzag pattern. Between the arms are tiny circles joined by tangential lines, also symbolic of the sun, swans, of which two have their bodies decorated with parallel zigzag lines, and three "dolphins," of which one has two parallel zigzag lines across its body. These are a combination of the dolphins of the first two "sail" fibulae, as their bodies have the same ventral and dorsal outline, but they have the fluked tail resembling that of the dolphin on the third "sail" fibula.

The third fibula acquired for the Berlin Antiquarium may be assumed from its brief description to follow the type of decoration of the others.

Another Boeotian fibula decorated with "fish" probably belongs to the group of fibulae discussed above.[13]

Similar fibulae of the "navicella" type, two of which are in the possession of Herr Paul Arndt in Munich,[14] one in London,[15] and one in the Berlin Antiquarium,[16] are discussed by Reisinger, who also gives an illustration of a bracelet on which the sun symbols are similarly represented with pairs of "fish" on either side of a swastica.[17] These are of the better workmanship found on the "sail" fibula published by Wolters (*vide supra*). The provenience of the fibulae in Herr Arndt's collection is unknown, but Reisinger compares them to the closely related fibula from Thisbe in Boeotia[18] noted above. As in that fibula, the scenes are apparently more advanced, and depict

[13] *Arch. Anz.* XIX, 1904, 26, No. 20.
[14] Reisinger, *Fibeln*, 288, Pls. 17 and 18.
[15] *Ibid.* p. 302, fig. 7.
[16] *Ibid.* p. 303, fig. 8.
[17] *Ibid.* p. 294, fig. 2.
[18] *Ibid.* p. 288.

besides the familiar sun symbols, scenes of war chariots and warships (*cf.* Plates 17 and 18). The "fish" of both fibulae are of the more advanced type, so far as shape is concerned, and recall the Late Minoan and Late Helladic dolphins because of the horizontal line extending along the body from the transverse line indicating gills to the flukes. Reisinger dates the "sail" fibula from 1000-800 B.C.[19] and the "navicella" fibula in the Seventh Century.[20]

To the above group of Boeotian fibulae must be added a "sail" fibula from Olympia[21] on one side of which is a bird, and on the other side four conventionalized "fish," arranged in a row, without distinctive heads, lacking flukes, but each possessed of a very well marked triangular fin. Whether this is intended for a back or ventral fin it is impossible to say, although it is placed at the more concave portion of the creatures' bodies. Furtwaengler calls them fish. If they are viewed in the light of the Déchelette theory, the fibula probably represents on one side the dolphin of the Delian Apollo, on the other, the swan of the Hyperborean Apollo. The points which indicate that these are intended for dolphins are, however, more likely to be the grouping of four together which may be intended to represent a school, and the presence of a large triangular fin which may signify a dolphin's back fin.

Geometric Vases

The pisciform dolphin[22] is the only type which occurs upon Geometric vases, and the interpretation is, therefore, dependent on other objects portrayed upon the same vase which indicate that the potter intended to represent a dolphin, or if these are absent, on the lineaments themselves or the grouping which may point to the choice of dolphins in preference to fish. Furthermore, an interpretation of the Geometric artist's works should be based upon the assumption that his ability is not commensurate with his imagination.

A Boeotian amphora[23] of the Geometric period is decorated, in addition to the usual ornamental motifs, with two panels between the handles. On one of these panels is the standing figure of the Persian Artemis, *πότνια θηρῶν*. She wears a gown ornamented in fields of stripes and rays divided by horizontal bands, and with a "fish" placed upright upon the front panel of the skirt. The creature is

[19] *Ibid.* p. 301.

[20] *Ibid.* p. 304.

[21] Furtwaengler, *Bronzefunde aus Olympia*, 36–37, figs. 7*a* and *b*.

[22] *Cf.* p. 16, *supra*.

[23] Wolters, *Arch. Eph.* 1892, 221 ff., Pl. 10, 1*a* and 1.

pisciform, and the only suggestion that it might be intended for a dolphin lies in the interpretation of the Artemis of this vase as Dictynna, the protectress of fishermen, whose worship in this aspect is connected among the Ionian Greeks with that of Apollo Delphinius.[24]

On two fragments of vases from Tiryns[25] occur characteristic dolphins of the degenerate Helladic type which have already been seen on some of the latest examples of that period.[26] They are used, however, as a stop-gap beneath the body of a horse, a common practice in Geometric decoration. The direct descent of these dolphins from the L.M. through the Helladic dolphins shows in the representation of the open beak from which the eye is not correctly marked off, and in the light reserved space along the belly, which in the case of one sherd[27] is developed into a sort of pattern, and in the other[28] is left as a plain line. The use, moreover, of this Minoan Helladic type as a stop-gap beneath the body of a horse indicates strongly that in other examples of Geometric ware where a fish is similarly employed, the fish goes back to a traditional dolphin. Examples of this motif include the crater from Melos in the National Museum at Athens,[29] and the crater in Berlin.[30]

Laconian Geometric ware is represented by a fragment of a plate from the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta.[31] The two complete pisciform creatures which are preserved upon it show in their long fluked tails, round eyes, open beaks, and the reserved streak following the length of the body from the gill to the small, their direct descent from the Minoan through the Helladic type. Droop suggests that this fragment which is without slip may belong to the earlier manner, and that it would be hard to classify the vase as Geometric, were it not for the fact that it resembles a certain sherd from the

[24] Preller-Robert, *Griechische Mythologie*, I, 318. *Ibid.*, note 1, mentions a relief in Marseilles representing Artemis Dictynna with a necklace composed of two dolphins. Plutarch, *De Solertia Animalium*, XXXVI, writes that there are sanctuaries and altars of Artemis Dictynna and Apollo Delphinius among many of the Greeks. *Cf.* also Evans, *Palace of Minos*, II, 844.

[25] Schliemann, *Tiryns*, 99, fig. 20, and Pl. XVIII.

[26] *Cf.* pp. 39–41, *supra.*

[27] Schliemann, *Tiyrns*, 99, fig. 20.

[28] *Ibid.* Pl. XVIII.

[29] W. Mueller and F. Oelmann, in *Tiryns* I, 146–147, fig. 12. *Cf.* Perrot et Chipiez, VII, 166, fig. 48, where the decorative panel of this crater is called a fragment of a Dipylon vase.

[30] *Ibid.* p. 147, fig. 13.

[31] Droop, *Laconia, Excavations at Sparta*, 1907, *B.S.A.* XIII, 124, fig. 3A.

Amyclaion in the Sparta Museum.[32] Although the possible identification of the "dolphin" on the skirt of Artemis upon the Boeotian crater above depends entirely upon the connection of the animal with Artemis Dictynna, it is not necessary in this case to invoke any connection between the ornamentation of the Laconian plate and its provenience, the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia, in order to establish the identity of the dolphins used in its decoration, as their form is unusually typical in comparison to other examples from the Geometric period.

To the Italian Geometric style belongs a plate[33] in Tuebingen, decorated with five "fish" swimming around a circle. They have fluked tails made in the simplest manner by allowing the continuation of the equally convex dorsal and ventral outlines to intersect. There are two pairs of dorsal and two pairs of ventral fins, a reserved triangle about the dot representing the eye, a reserved gill line, and a reserved line following the length of the body from the region of the gill to the region of the small. The filiation of this line has already been traced and serves to indicate the strong probability that the artist either intended to portray dolphins, or is unconsciously following the traditional representation of dolphins, which had been handed down throughout the generations from the original in the Queen's Megaron at Cnossus.

A similar type of Italian Geometric dolphin is found on an oenochoe in the Louvre dating from the Seventh or Sixth Century, B.C.[34] There is also a large amphora,[35] in the Italian Geometric style, dating from the Seventh Century B.C., which is decorated with oval-bodied, speckled fish, whose only connection with the dolphin is to be sought in the separation of the tail from the body by parallel lines, which suggest the well-known ball so often used as the identifying mark of the dolphin.

Examples in Bone, Wood, and Terracotta

With the fibulae and pottery most of the examples of Geometric dolphins are exhausted. There remain however a few isolated ones in other fields of the art of that period. To these belongs the fragmentary bone dolphin from the Dipylon graveyard, studied above,[36] and

[32] Tod and Wace, *Catalogue of the Sparta Museum*, Oxford, 1906, 245, No. 798, 2, where the sherd is not described separately.

[33] C. Watzinger, *Griechische Vasen in Tuebingen*, Reutlingen, 1924, 20, No. 52, fig. 18.

[34] Pottier, *Vases antiques du Louvre, Salles* A-E, Pl. 31, D 76.

[35] *Ibid.* Pl. 30, D 56.

[36] P. 15 *supra.*

a similar wooden "fish" from Mycenae, which may perhaps also be taken for a dolphin,[37] though the reversed curve and provenience suggest that it is Helladic rather than Geometric.

There is also a terracotta figurine of the Tanagraean Geometric style representing a woman upon whose skirt is a dolphin's (or a duck's) head.[38]

THE PATTERN OF THE ANCIENT SHIP

As one reads upon the subject of ancient navigation, or shipping, one finds the suggestion recurring that the ship was built in the shape of a dolphin, or at least that the stern ornament was patterned after the dolphin's tail.[39] Torr in his work on ancient ships goes with care into the construction and into the various types of craft, without, apparently, taking into consideration the dolphin as a prototype. He suggests[40] that the ἄφλαστον, may be traced to the lotus ornament of Egyptian ships dating *c.* 1250 B.C. This seems to be quite as logical a prototype as a dolphin's tail, just as, to one entirely unversed in shipping, a log is as good an original model for a ship as a dolphin, and a more practical one.

[37] Schliemann, *Mycenae*, 129, fig. 211.

[38] F. Winter, *Die Typen der figuerlichen Terrakotten*, Part I, *Die antiken Terrakotten* III, 1, ed. R. Kekulé von Stradonitz, Berlin und Stuttgart, 1903, p. 5, No. 3.

[39] *Cf.* Keller, *op. cit.* p. 216, and note 44; F. Behn, *Die Schiffe des Telephosfrieses*, *Jahrb. Arch. Inst.* XXII, 1907, 241, note 2; *Die Schiffe der Etrusker*, *Roem. Mitt.* XXXIV, 1919, 12. Also *Etym. Mag.* 255, *s. v.* Δελφῖνες.

[40] C. Torr, *Ancient Ships*, Cambridge, 1895, 68.

CHAPTER VI

THE DOLPHIN IN LEGEND AND LITERATURE

In the chapters on the pre-Hellenic and Geometric periods, it was necessary to study the objects without recourse to literary sources, and without the context which the familiar myths and folk-tales of the later periods afford for the interpretation of works of art. It is true that in Minoan art we are conscious of a religious background, and there is probably a grain of truth, as Forsdyke writes, in reading a religious meaning into the decoration of the false-necked amphora from Pitane,[1] and consequently in carrying the same ideas into the interpretation of motifs on L.M. larnaces and Geometric fibulae from Boeotia. It is not until the Geometric period begins to grow old however, that the myths familiar to us assume pictorial shape, as the gem-cutter, the potter, and the sculptor undertake to present a story. This is the dawn of what may be called historic art, a field in which the dolphin plays two great rôles, that of symbol and that of pure decoration, or a combination of both. Thus, in order to furnish a background for the study of the dolphin in all fields throughout the historic periods of Greek and Roman antiquity, it is necessary to digress from the subject of the preceding chapters and to examine into the myths, folk-lore, and literary writings which refer to the subject of this dissertation.

Usener,[2] in his work on the legends of the Flood, has gathered up what at first seems to be a multitude of folk tales, diverse yet similar, in which the dolphin plays a part, and has united them into a great main theme that underlies the several versions constituting its branches. This theme originates in the rescue from the Flood in an ark, and goes through the mutations of the rescue of an infant god in a chest, rescue or conveyance in a ship, and, in the final stage of rescue, on the back of a fish.[3]

Before discussing this final phase, we may dispose of the figure of the dolphins invading the forest, one of the stock paradoxes in litera-

[1] *Br. Mus. Cat. Vases*, I, Part 1, A 1015, p. 194.

[2] *Sintfluthsagen, passim.* In making use of Usener's theory throughout this chapter, I realize that myths and folk-tales are the fiction of primitive minds and consequently are susceptible of a variety of interpretations. Usener has, however, brought order into an inchoate mass, and given us a single workable system which is more important to a study of the type of this thesis than a theory emphasizing the diffusion and incoherence of the myths relating to the dolphin.

[3] *Ibid.* pp. 1–144, *passim.*

ture which has its origin in the Flood legend, and which is familiar from both Greek and Latin sources. In Lycophron the description relates directly to the Flood, when dolphins are said to have fed upon the trees, as also in Nonnus Panopolitanus, where the wild boar and the dolphin meet in the waters. Horace uses the figures of Nonnus and Lycophron combined to illustrate inconsistency in the art of writing: *qui variare cupit rem prodigialiter unam, delphinum silvis appingit, fluctibus aprum.*[4] Ovid describes the Flood in which the dolphins take possession of the woods, while Claudian makes figurative use of the dolphins in the woods as a prodigy.

Literary sources:-

Greek

Lycophron, *Alexandra*, ed. von Holzinger, Leipzig, 1895, 83-85.
Nonnus Panopolitanus, *Dionysiaca*, ed. Ludwich, Leipzig, 1909, VI, 265-266.

Latin

Claudian, *Carmina*, ed. Koch, Leipzig, 1893, XVIII, 354-355.
Horace, *Ars Poetica*, Oxford, 29-30.
Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, ed. Haupt, Berlin, 1915, I,302.

The underlying reason for the unconscious selection of the dolphin from among other sea-beasts and fish for the rôle of conveyor may possibly be explained by the fact that its fleshy back-fin resembles a tiny rider as the animal bounds across the surface of the sea. Usener states that the rescuer from the Flood was invariably thought of by the Greeks as a dolphin,[5] and we shall follow him as he traces the development of the dolphin-legends from cult and ancient local legends and anecdotes which grow out of these, to the use of the dolphin-conveyor simply as a formal motif or literary ornament, and so on to Christian legends, and animal fables.[6]

DIONYSUS

Under the first group come the legends of the epiphany of Dionysus. These belong to the cycle of myths symbolizing the battle

[4] *Cf.* Keller, *Thiere des class. Altert.* 225, where he speaks of the pine-tree of Melicertes or the Asiatic Tree of Paradise, represented on coins with the Dolphin-rider, as giving a deep underlying meaning to Horace's mockery.

[5] *Sintfluthsagen*, 138. Usener apparently considers the dolphin a fish as he heads the chapter dealing with the dolphin by the single word "*Fisch*," and later translates δελφίς as "*Fisch*." *Cf. ibid.* p. 173 and note 1.

[6] *Ibid.* pp. 138–144, *passim.*

between winter and summer. The winter is represented by the death of Dionysus who disappears into the water whence he is brought back as the returning springtime[7] either in a chest, on a ship, or on the back of a dolphin, all three being of equal importance,[8] but only the last of concern here.

The Tyrrhenian Pirates

The story of the adventure of Dionysus with the Tyrrhenian Pirates is an epiphany legend as the versions of Naxos and Euboea make clear. In the Naxian legend the child Dionysus is entrusted to Tyrrhenian mariners to be conveyed in a ship to Naxos where the Nymphs are to rear him. During the crossing the mariners conceive the idea of running off with the boy who senses the treachery and bids the companions in his train strike up on their musical instruments, while he produces the usual Dionysiac manifestations and miracles such as the changing of the mast into a grape-vine. As a result, the mariners are seized with Bacchic enthusiasm and take to a wild dance which results in their throwing themselves overboard and being changed into dolphins.[9] There are many versions of this tale, the most familiar of them being the story in the Homeric Hymn to Dionysus, where the god is portrayed as a young man who was seized by the pirates as he stood upon the seashore, and who avenged himself by turning them into dolphins. Among the literary records of the legend are the following:

Greek

Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca*, ed. Bekker, Leipzig, 1854, III,5,3.
Homeric Hymn to Dionysus, ed. Allen, Oxford.
Nonnus, *Dionysiaca*, XLV, 105-168.

Latin

Hyginus, *Fabulae*, ed. Schmidt, Jena, 1872, No. 134. *Astronomica*, in *Mythographi Latini*, ed. von Staveren, Amsterdam-Leyden, 1742, II, 17.

Mythographus Vaticanus II, *Fabula* 171, in *Classicorum Auctorum e Vaticanis Codicibus Editorum, curante* Angelo Maio, 1831, III, p.146.

Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, III, 636.

Propertius, *Elegiae*, ed. Baehrens, Leipzig, 1880, III, 17, 25.

Seneca, *Agamemnon*, ed. Leo, Berlin, 1878, 451. The reference is to *Tyrrhenna piscis*, obviously, from the context, a dolphin.

[7] *Ibid.* pp. 179–180.
[8] *Ibid.* p. 185.
[9] *Ibid.* p. 124.

There was in antiquity a popular belief in the human intelligence of dolphins and their kindly feeling towards man which was explained by Lucian in the light of the transformation of the Tyrrhenian Pirates. Oppian and Porphyry suggest the same thing. The literary references are:

Lucian, ed. Jacobitz, Leipzig, 1881, I, *Dialogi Marini*, 8.

Oppian, *Halieutica* in *Poetae Bucolici et Didactici*, ed. Lehrs, Paris, 1862, I, 649-654; V, 422 f., and 519 f.

Porphyrius, ed. Nauck, Leipzig, 1886, *De Abstinentia* III, 16.

Coeranus

The local cult of the epiphany on the island of Sicinus is not associated with the name of Dionysus, but with a mortal called Coeranus. Plutarch tells how this man, a native of Paros, chanced to be in Byzantium where he saw a number of dolphins caught by fishermen who were about to dispatch them. Coeranus bought their release and set them free. Sometime afterwards, as he was sailing through the straits between Paros and Naxos, his craft overturned and he alone was saved by a dolphin that took him upon its back and carried him to a cave on Sicinus (Sicynthus) which is called the Coeraneum. Later, when the man died, and his body was being burned upon a pyre by the seashore many dolphins assembled to attend the funeral.

A point of similarity between Plutarch's story of Coeranus and the Epiphany of Dionysus is the destination of the ship, which in all versions is invariably Naxos, except in the case of the Homeric Hymn to Dionysus. The cave is an indication of a cult legend, and also of a myth of a disappearing god of light. The name Coeranus, too, is not the name of a mortal, but is simply the appellation "Lord" (Κοίρανος). Coeranus in his cave is, therefore, the manifestation of Dionysus in the aspect of winter.[10]

Versions of the Coeranus legend are found in the following:[11]

Aelian, *Nat. An.* VIII, 3, which follows the version of Plutarch quite closely. There is, however, no mention of Sicinus as the location of the cave or Coeraneum, but a link with Miletus (*cf.* Phylarchus, *infra*) is found in the statement that the ship carried Milesian passengers.

Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae*, XIII, 85 d., quotes Phylarchus, *v. infra.*

[10] Usener, *Sintfluthsagen*, 149.

[11] The reference to this story in Archilochus, Frg. 114 B, does not include the dolphins.

Plutarch, *De Sol. An.* XXXVI.

Phylarchus, in *F Gr Hist*, ed. Jacoby, Berlin, 1926, II A, 168, No. 26. The story is connected with Miletus, and there is no mention made of a cave.

Although the versions of the legend in Phylarchus and Athenaeus do not mention a cave, there is no reason for not accepting Usener's interpretation of this myth as a story of the winter-aspect of Dionysus.[12]

Melicertes-Palaemon

In the stories of the Tyrrhenian Pirates and of Coeranus, we have dealt with the rescue of the living god. We now turn to the legends where the dolphin bears up the dead body upon its back and carries it to the place of the cult worship. Great emphasis has been laid upon the Phoenician origin of Melicertes,[13] thought of in this aspect as Heracles, a hero whose mythological descent is traced back to the Phoenician Sun-god. Usener,[14] however, cautions against too much generalization in this direction, and especially against the derivation of the cult in its entirety from Phoenician mythology. Instead, he would have us, on the one hand, grant that the name Melicertes is derived from the Phoenician Melek-qart, and also that the assimilation to Heracles is Phoenician, on the other hand, he would have us bear in mind the fact that the god's second name, Palaemon, is Greek, and that the origin of the legend is undoubtedly Hellenic. According to Usener the Semitic Melicertes was taken over by Greeks as a proper name to christen a Greek conception of a divinity.[15] The source of the Phoenician name is probably to be found in trade intercourse between Corinth and the East, during which the propitious sea-god Palaemon, whose cult was established on the Isthmus, acquired a foreign appellation.

It is, however, the Greek legend which is of paramount interest to us. In the version of Megara and Corinth,[16] which Usener considers the most important, the maddened Ino, carrying the boy Melicertes

[12] *Cf. Sintfluthsagen*, pp. 149–150.

[13] *Cf.* Keller *op. cit.* pp. 219, 220, 225. Keller makes the dolphin the emblem of the divinities who protect colonization, as Dionysus, who became a sea-faring god under the Phoenicians, because they started viticulture wherever they planted colonies. Other gods are Apollo Delphinius, Melicertes, and Taras.

[14] *Sintfluthsagen*, 151.

[15] *Ibid.* p. 152.

[16] *Ibid.* p. 152. Keller, *op. cit.* p. 227, refers to the leap of Ino as from the Leucadian cliff, connecting it with Apollo.

in her arms, flings herself from the Molurian cliff into the sea, where both perish. The body of Melicertes is conveyed by a dolphin to the Isthmus, where an altar was erected to commemorate the rescue. Beside it stood the sacred pine tree. In acknowledgment for the care she had bestowed upon Dionysus in his infancy, Ino is converted into a sea-goddess by him, and re-named Leucothea.

In Corinth the cult developed into a trinity consisting of Poseidon, Leucothea, and Melicertes or Palaemon. The pine tree is sacred to Poseidon and its foliage later supplies the wreaths for the victors in the Isthmian games.[17] But the pine is also sacred to Dionysus, whose thyrsus is crowned with a cone, and Palaemon is shown on Corinthian coins, with a thyrsus in his hand.[18] We may, therefore, assume that in Palaemon we have another aspect of the Winter or the dead Dionysus, who was resurrected with his mother, once a nurse of Dionysus, as a beneficent sea-god in which form he acquired the Semitic name of Melicertes.

The literary references to monuments of Palaemon with the dolphin will be taken up in a later chapter. Suffice it to quote Usener here, that the presence of a monument to Melicertes or Palaemon is an indisputable indication of the cult of a divinity.[19]

References to the story only, and of these none which do not mention the dolphin, follow:

Greek

Lucian, *Dialogi Marini*, 8; *Navigium sive Vota*, 19. In the latter the name, Melicertes, is not mentioned, but the story is obviously of him.

Pausanias, I, 44, 7-8; II, 1,3.

Pindar, Scholion to the Isthmian Odes, Ὑπόθεσις, ed. Boeckh, Vol. II, Part 1, p.515.

Plutarch, *Septem Sapientum Convivium*, XIX. The reference is indirect.

Tzetzes, *Scholia ad Lycophronem*, ed. Mueller, Leipzig, 1811, I, 385, No.107.

Latin

Apuleius, *Metamorphoses*, ed. Helm, Leipzig, 1913, IV,31. Here Palaemon assumes in literature the form which art in the later periods will derive from the legend of Ino and Melicertes, the *'putto'* or cupid driving or riding dolphins.

[17] *Sintfluthsagen*, 153.

[18] *Ibid.* p. 154. *Cf.* note 4, *supra*, for Keller's views.

[19] *Ibid.* p. 150.

Claudian, *Epithalamium de Nuptiis Honorii Augusti*, 156. Palaemon is used here in the same way as in Apuleius, only a little more fancifully: *frenatque rosis delphina Palaemon.*

Statius, *Thebais*, ed. Mueller, Leipzig, 1870, I, 121-122.

Phalanthus-Taras

The coins of Tarentum have made the god Phalanthus and his counterpart, the eponymous hero Taras, a familiar figure of the dolphin rider. Studniczka[20] has dispelled any belief in the historicity of Phalanthus, the oecist of Tarentum, and has established his character as a local god, considering him one of the manifestations of Poseidon. He then shows how the cult of the local god was supplanted by the true Poseidon worship in the aspect of the latter's son Taras, whose name suffices to explain his character of eponymous hero. The disappearance of the Phalanthus worship is explained by a myth relating the expulsion of Phalanthus from Tarentum and his welcome at Brentesion where a monument was erected to him after his death. This is simply the shrine of another local cult of the dolphin rider, which we shall soon follow up.

Usener does not adhere to Studniczka's view that Phalanthus is a manifestation of Poseidon, but instead bases his own theory upon the attributes of Taras assembled by Evans,[21] which he, Usener, has grouped under the following headings: Sea-god attributes, War-god attributes, Apollo attributes, Dionysus attributes, and attributes of various significance.[22] From these he concludes that the Tarentine Dolphin-rider is not a manifestation of any one of the gods but an independent deity.[23] He further deduces from the record in Pausanias[24] of a Fifth Century group of Taras and Phalanthus, the latter with a dolphin, made by Onatas, and set up at Delphi, that Phalanthus is the original dolphin god of Tarentum, and not Taras, as was suggested by Aristotle.[25] Usener then takes up the etymology of Phalanthus, and shows from the fact that there was once a city in Arcadia by that name,[26] that the deity is not exclusively a sea-god. He further derives the name Phalanthos from φάλης (for φαλλός) and points out that an image which was landed at Methymna on Lesbos was identified by

[20] *Kyrene*, Leipzig, 1890, *Anhang I, Phalanthus, passim.*
[21] *Horsemen of Tarentum, Numismatic Chronicle*, 1889, Parts I and II.
[22] *Sintfluthsagen*, 155–157.
[23] *Ibid.* p. 158.
[24] III, 25, 7.
[25] *Fragmenta*, ed. Rose, Leipzig, 1886, No. 590 (Pollux IX, 80).
[26] Pausanias, VIII, 35, 9.

the Delphic oracle as that of Dionysus Phallen. He then points out that Φάλανθος may be derived from φαλαν (φαλλήν) in the same way as μέλανθος is derived from μελαν, and thus establishes the connection between the Tarentine dolphin-rider, whether he be Phalanthus or his eponymous successor, and Dionysus.[27]

The literary references to Phalanthus-Taras, with the exception of those referring to monuments, follow:

Antigonus Carystius, *Historia Mirabilium*, ed. Keller, Leipzig, 1877, No. LV (60).

Aristotle, *H.A.* 631 a.

Pausanias, X, 13,10.

Enalus

A legend of Methymna tells how the daughter of Smintheus was to be sacrificed to Amphitrite when Enalus, her lover, leapt with her into the sea, where both were saved by dolphins. Later Enalus received a stone from a polyp which he dedicated in the temple of Poseidon. Studniczka[28] identifies Enalus with Ποσειδῶν μεσοπόντιος. Usener makes him the original Dolphin-rider of Methymna.[29]

The literary references are:

Myrsilos of Lesbos, in *FHG*, ed. Mueller, Paris, 1874, IV, 459, which quotes the reference from Plutarch, *De Sol. An. infra.*

Plutarch, *VII Sap. Conv.* XX, and *De Sol. An.* XXXVI.

Arion

With the stories of Enalus,[30] of the founding of Tarentum and of the reception of the exiled Phalanthus in Brentesion, and with the Palaemon cult at Corinth and the monument on Cape Taenarum[31] we have

[27] *Sintfluthsagen*, 162–163. Studniczka, *Kyrene*, 185–186, gives the derivation of the name from φαλ signifying light which he states is indicative of the brilliance and foam of the sea, and concludes: "*Unser Delphinreiter Phalanthos heisst also ohne Zweifel nach seinem Elemente, aehnlich wie der Walfisch, φάλη, φάλαινα*"

[28] *Kyrene*, 185.

[29] *Sintfluthsagen*, 161.

[30] To which Usener, *Sintfluthsagen*, 161, adds the wafting of the head of Orpheus to Methymna.

[31] Studniczka states this was originally a statue of Poseidon, *Kyrene* 184–185. Keller agrees with this, and traces the legend back to a Phoenician origin, "*Dass den meisten Arion-artigen Legenden ein wirkliches Denkmal des jugendlichen Baal-Melkarth, der auf dem Atargatis-Delphine reitet, zu Grunde liegt, ist kaum zu bezweifeln* (*op. cit.*, p. 225). Keller (p. 228, note 228) also quotes Biedermann, in *der Delphin in der dichtenden und bildenden Phantasie der Griechen und Roemer* as identifying Arion with Poseidon-Areion, the manifestation of Poseidon in the horse. This seems improbable.

all of the elements of the most famous of the dolphin-rider myths, the story of Arion.

The best known literary record of Arion is the lyrical fragment which purports to be a first hand account of the rescue of the traditional inventor of the dithyramb by dolphins that conveyed him to Cape Taenarum, after pirates had boarded his ship and compelled him to throw himself into the sea. This story is also the most famous of the anecdotes about the dolphins' love of music, for it was the sound of Arion's song to the lyre that attracted his rescuers. Among the numerous youths portrayed in art with dolphins, Arion is, therefore, always distinguished by his lyre.[32]

It is now accepted that the song which places Arion among the lyric poets could not have been written before Euripides,[33] and this fact, combined with the evidence that the Arion story is linked only with those places where there was already a Dolphin-rider cult, as Corinth, Methymna, Tarentum, and Brentesion,[34] and Taenarum, proves that there is no historicity in the tale.[35] Usener remarks that the striking resemblance of the Arion story to the story of the Tyrrhenian Pirates points to the fact that it is simply a local version of the Dionysus myth. Usener also points to Corinth, where the statues connected with the Melicertes cult were confused with Arion down to the time of the Antonines,[36] as an illustration of the replacing of a legend by a popular folk tale.[37]

Literary references to Arion and the dolphin follow:

Greek

Aelian, *Nat. An.* II,6; VI,15. Reference.

Anon. in Cramer, *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, III, p.222. Allusion to Arion and the dolphin in connection with the story of Marsyas.

Aristides, ed. Dindorf, Leipzig, 1829, II, 125. This refers to Plato, *Republic*, V, 453 d, where the dolphin is mentioned, but not Arion.

Bianor, in *Anthologia Palatina*, ed. Duebner, Paris, 1872, II, Chap. IX, No. 308. The story in brief.

[32] *Cf.* Stephani, *Compte-rendu de la Commission impériale archéologique*, St. Petersburg, 1864, p. 211.

[33] *Cf.* p. 11 and note 11, *supra.*

[34] Coins of some of these cities represent the dolphin-rider carrying the lyre, *vide* p. 126, *infra.*

[35] *Cf. Sintfluthsagen*, 160.

[36] *Cf.* Hyginus, *Fabulae*, 194.

[37] *Sintfluthsagen*, 151.

Clement of Alexandria, ed. Dindorf, I, *Protrepticus*, I, 1 and 2. The dolphin is called a fish.

Dio Chrysostom, ed. Dindorf, Leipzig, 1857, I, 421. Rescue by dolphins. II, 293–294. The entire story.

Herodotus, ed. Hude, Oxford, I, 23, 24. This account gives the connection between Arion, the inventor of the dithyramb, and Periander of Corinth, which has served to spread the belief in an historical rather than a mythological Arion.

Libanius, *Narrationes*, ed. Foerster, Leipzig, 1915, VIII, 52. The entire story.

Lucian, *Navigium sive Vota*, 19. Indirect reference. *Dialogi Marini*, 8. Reference.

Marcellinus, *Life of Thucydides*, 49, in Thucydides, ed. H. S. Jones, Oxford. Reference.

Nicolaus the Sophist, *Progymnasmata*, I, 7. in Walz, *Rhetores Graeci*, Stuttgart and Tuebingen, 1832, I, 271.

Oppian, *Hal.* V, 448–452. The rescue.

Exegesis to Oppian, ed. Bussemaker, p. 369, 38.

Pausanias, III, 25, 7. Refers to the above passage in Herodotus.

Plutarch, *VII Sap. Conv.* XVII. Gorgias witnesses the landing of Arion by dolphins, and hears the latter's account of his rescue. *De Sol. An.* XXXVI. Reference.

Strabo, XIII, 618. Reference to the story in Herodotus.

Theon, Scholion to Aratus, *Phaenomena*, ed. Buhle, Leipzig, 1793, I, 318. Reference.

Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, ed. Kiessling, Leipzig. 1826, I, 393–414. The entire story.

Latin

Apuleius, *Metamorphoses*, VI, 29. Reference. *Florida*, III, 17, 80. Quotation from Vergil, *Ecl.* VIII, 56.

Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations*, ed. Dougan, Cambridge, 1905, II, 67. Reference.

Fronto, *Epistulae*, ed. Naber, Leipzig, 1867, 237–238. The story of the rescue and return of Arion to Corinth, *et homo et vestis et cithara et vox incolumis.*

Gellius, *Noctes Atticae*, ed. Hertz, Leipzig, 1871, XVI, 19. The story as told in Herodotus.

Hyginus, *Fabulae*, 194. Apollo plays a rôle here, first warning Arion of his betrayal by the sailors, and later placing Arion and the dolphin among the stars. *Astronomica*, II, 17. The story in full.

Martial, *Epigrammata*, VIII, 50 (51), 15. Simile.

Martianus Capella, *De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*, ed. Dick, Leipzig, 1925, IX, 908. The dolphins are summoned by the sound of Arion's lyre.

Mythographus Vaticanus, I, 95; II, 172. The story in brief.

Ovid, *Fasti*, ed. Merkel, Leipzig, 1889, II, 4. The story of the rescue at sea only. *Ars Amatoria*, III, 325–6. Reference.

Pseudo-Ovidius, *Halieutica*, *Fragmentum edidit* Hier. Columna, in *Poetae Latini Minores*, ed. N. E. Lemaire, Paris, 1824, I, 234–235. The rescue.

Pliny, *N.H.* IX, 28. The story in brief.

Probus, *In Vergilii Bucolica et Georgica Commentarius*, ed. H. Keil, Halle, 1848, p.24. To *Ecl.* VIII, 56 (*Vide infra*). The story in brief.

Propertius, *Elegiae*, II, 17–18. Reference.

Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, ed. Bonnell, Leipzig, 1861, VI, 3, 39–41. M. Caelius Rufus tells the graceful little story of how D. Laelius and his colleague crossed the sea to their province like Arion sitting on a dolphin.

Solinus, XII, 12. Reference.

Vergil, *Ecl.* VIII, 56. Reference.

The Inscription at Thera

An inscription on the Island of Thera, where it is cut into the living rock, was restored by Boeckh[38] to read as follows:

[Κυκλείδας Κ]υκλῆος ἀδε[λφ]ε[ιῶι Ἀρίω]νι
τὸν δελφὶς [σῶσε, μνημόσυνον τέλεσεν.]

Welcker[39] does not agree with what he quotes as Boeckh's interpretation of the inscription, namely, that it is a dedication made by the brother of Arion, just as the monument at Taenarum was actually dedicated by Arion, and supports his doubts upon those implied in such ancient writers as Herodotus, Dio Chrysostom and Pausanias (*q.v. supra*).

Kaibel[40] follows Welcker's interpretation of the inscription as restored by Boeckh.

Later collections of inscriptions have rejected the Boeckh restoration entirely. Roehl[41] reads [Μ]ίτων Δέλφις Π[ολ]υκλέος ἀδελ[π]ἡε[οί] while the reading of Hiller von Gaertringen[42] is *a.* [τὸν δεῖνα] ναὶ τὸν

[38] *I. G.*, XII³, 537.

[39] *Kleine Schriften zur Griechischen Literaturgeschichte*, Bonn, 1844, 98 ff.

[40] *Epigrammata Graeca ex lapidibus conlecta*, Berlin, 1878, No. 1086.

[41] *Inscriptiones Graecae Antiquissimae*, Berlin, 1882, No. 453.

[42] *I.G.* XII³, 537.

Δελπhίνιον h[o?] Κρίμων τε(ί)δε ὥιπhε, παῖδα βαθυκλέος ἀδελπhεὸ[ν δὲ τοῦ δεῖνος] b. Δε(ι)νώ.

The connection between this inscription and Arion and his dolphin seems thus to be entirely set aside.

Hermias or Dionysius, the Boy at Iasus

Another folk tale based upon the legend of a divinity is the story of the Boy of Iasus. The evidence of the presence of the god consists, according to Usener, in the monument to the Boy and Dolphin at Iasus which, it is understood, was originally a cult statue or group, and as such, gave rise to the several versions of the anecdote about the youth and his marine play-fellow.[43] The story has it that an ephebe of Iasus, who was accustomed to plunge daily into the sea after training in the palaestra, was beloved by a dolphin that would take him upon its back, and swim far out with him, then return him safely to land. One day the youth flung himself too exuberantly upon the dolphin's back, and was pierced by the spine of its dorsal fin which the animal had neglected to sheath. Loss of blood caused the youth's death, and the dolphin, perceiving the disaster, carried the body ashore, and then breathed its last. The people, thereupon, erected a monument to the pair, and later used it as a coin type.

The ephebe is sometimes called Dionysius, and sometimes Hermias. Usener[44] explains that this is the natural change from divine to personal names in the course of the development of an anecdote from a cult legend, Dionysius standing for Dionysus and Hermias for Hermes in his aspect of conveyor of the infant god to his nurse or to heaven. Another version of the tale connects it with Alexander the Great. In this case the boy was pursued to land by the dolphin which then expired, and Alexander, interpreting the event as a divine sign, made the boy a priest of Poseidon in Babylon.

The literary references are:

Greek

Aelian, *Nat. An.* VI, 15. The account in which the unnamed ephebe and the dolphin both die. *Ibid.* VIII, 11. Reference.

Antigonus Carystius, *Historia Mirabilium*, LV (60). Reference following Aristotle, *H.A.* 631 a.

Aristotle, *H.A.* 631 a. Reference.

Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae*, XIII, 85. The story is attributed to Duris.

[43] *Cf.* p. 64, *supra*, and *Sintfluthsagen*, 167.

[44] *Sintfluthsagen*, 167–168.

Plutarch, *De Sol. An.* XXXVI. Short summary of the story.
Pollux, *Onomasticon*, ed. Bekker, Berlin, 1846, IX, 84. Reference.
Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, IV, 10–20.

Latin

Pliny, *N.H.* IX, 27. The tale is told of two different boys of Iasus, the one made priest of Poseidon by Alexander the Great, and the other a story from Hegesidemus, of the boy Hermias who perished by drowning as the dolphin rushed him through the water, and after whose death the dolphin expired.

Solinus, XII, 10. Copied from Pliny, *q.v. supra.*

The Dead Hesiod

The poet Hesiod, it is told, was murdered in the land of the Locrians, in the Nemean grove, and his body was cast into the sea, where a school of dolphins found it and carried it ashore. In some sources the scene of the murder is Oenoe. Usener[45] in his interpretation of the story calls attention to the following facts: that there is no Oenoe in Locris but that Oeneon lies inland in Ozolian Locris; that in the Apaturia-legend of Attica there is an Oenoe for the possession of which Xanthus and Melanthus contend; that there is an island Oenoe where Thoas, a manifestation of the winter Dionysus, lands in a chest; that the name bespeaks a connection with the god of wine; and that the body of Hesiod is brought ashore by the dolphins during the festival of the Ariadneia which is simply an elaborated picture of the Epiphany of Dionysus with Ariadne. Oeneon, as has been said, is in Ozolian Locris, as is Rhion, where, in the version in Plutarch, the body is brought ashore. But Usener[46] calls attention to the story according to Alcidamas, which gives a share in the legend to the Opuntian Locrians. He then reasons from the anecdote of Theophrastus, of a boy at Naupactus who was beloved by a dolphin they brought his dead body to land, that a legend of a dolphin-conveyor of the dead was in existence all along the Locrian coasts before the name of Hesiod became attached to it.[47]

The literary references in regard to the death of Hesiod have been assembled and quoted by O. Friedel.[48] Those that bring in the dolphins follow:

[45] *Sintfluthsagen*, 164–165.
[46] *Ibid.* p. 141.
[47] *Ibid.* pp. 165–166.
[48] *Die Sage vom Tode Hesiods nach ihren Quellen untersucht, Jahrbuecher fuer classische Philologie, Supplementband* X, Leipzig, 1878–1879, 235–278.

Greek

Certamen Homeri et Hesiodi, in *Hesiodi Carmina*, ed. Rzach, Leipzig, 1913, 215–242. This gives the scene of the murder as the Nemean grove at Oenoe, the casting of the body into the sea between Locris and Euboea, and its landing and subsequent burial at Orchomenos during the Ariadneia. It also refers to Alcidamas' *Mouseion* and to Eratosthenes [*Epyllion on the Murder of Hesiod*].

Proclus or (more correctly) Johannes Tzetzes[49] quotes substantially the Auctor *Certaminis Homeri et Hesiodi*, but omits mentioning the Ariadneia.

Plutarch, *VII Sap. Conv.* XIX. The body is brought ashore by dolphins at Rhion or Molycria during the festival of the Rhiia. Also *De Sol. An.* XXXVI. A brief summary.

Latin

Gellius, *NoctesAtticae*, VI, 8. Quotes Theophrastus on the Boy and Dolphin at Naupactus.

Pliny, *N.H.* IX, 28. The same.

St. Lucian

The Epiphany of Dionysus finds its way even into Christian legends. St. Lucian of Antioch in Syria refused to renounce Christianity and was martyred at Nicomedia. Sometime afterwards his body was brought to land on the back of a dolphin which deposited it at the feet of his disciples, and thereupon breathed its last. Symeon Metaphrastus,[50] who gives us this story, writes with some wonder about the event: "And it carried the corpse upon its back laid out as if resting upon a bed, and it was a marvel to see how the corpse remained immovable upon such a slippery and round body." Symeon can also quote the end of a song about St. Lucian which he heard in his boyhood,

Δελφὶς δ' ἐπὶ νῶτα κομίζων
ἐξέπνευσε φέρων ἐπὶ γαίην.[51]

According to Usener the legend of St. Lucian throws light upon the Bithynian version of the Epiphany of Dionysus. Arguing from the fact that the Feast-day of St. Lucian occurs on the day after

[49] Friedel, *loc. cit.* p. 239.

[50] Symeon Metaphrastus, in *Patrologiae Graecae*, ed. J. P. Migne, Paris, 1864, Vol. CXIV, p. 413.

[51] *Ibid.*

Epiphany, January sixth in the Christian calendar, which is, however, reckoned as January fifteenth in the Bithynian calendar, and that the fifteenth is full-moon day in the month Dionysius, he points out that the Bithynians celebrated the Epiphany of Dionysus on the fifteenth of the month Dionysius, which month followed the winter solstice. He further argues that the legend of St. Lucian is of the type of the Bithynian Epiphany of Dionysus, where the dead body is brought to land upon the dolphin's back.[52]

There are also other indications of a cult of the dolphin-conveyor on the sea-coast near Nicomedia, which, as we have seen above, always underlies the presence of a monument representing some such group as the Arion and Dolphin at Taenarum. Antiphilus of Byzantium[53] has an Epigram to a Dead Dolphin, which suggests to Usener[54] that he knew of some such monument, and a coin of Nicomedia has Eros on a Dolphin which is a derivation of the Boy-Rider type.[55]

Local Folk-Tales of the Boy and Dolphin

The foregoing legends of Phalanthus-Taras, Melicertes-Palaemon, Coeranus, Enalus, the Boy of Iasus, the Boy at Naupactus, and others, are old local legends. We now come to the same story in the folk-tale variant which may or may not go back to a local legend.[56]

Achaea

The boy and dolphin sport together in the sea. The boy dies and the dolphin thereupon expires, *ligamen spiraminis cum corpore constantius connexum violenter dissolvens.*

Source: Philo Judaeus, *Alexander, sive de eo quod rationem habeant bruta animalia,* in *Bibliotheca Sacra Patrum Ecclesiae Graecorum, Pars* II, Vol. VII, Leipzig, 1830, p.132, ch.67.

Alexandria

In the time of Ptolemy II, a boy was beloved by a dolphin in Alexandria.

[52] *Sintfluthsagen,* 177–178.

[53] *Anth. Pal.* IX, 222. *Delphinus loquitur,* but is not mentioned by name in the epigram.

[54] *Sintfluthsagen,* 178–179.

[55] *Br. Mus. Cat. Coins, Pontus, etc.,* p. 183: Coin of Commodus, Pl. XXXIV, 7.

[56] *Cf.* Usener, *Sintfluthsagen,* 143.

Sources:
Aelian, *Nat. An.* VI, 15.
Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, IV, 21.

Among the Amphilochians

The story of the boy, the dolphin, and the death of both, as in Achaea (*q.v. supra*).

Source:
Pliny, *N.H.* IX, 28.

Baiae and Dicaearchia

Cf. Puteoli, infra.

Hippo Diarrhytus

Although the subject of one version of this story is not a boy and a single dolphin, it is clearly a derivation from that type of folk-tale.

A dolphin at Hippo, on the coast of Africa, would feed from the hand, and would play with swimmers and carry them upon its back. It was anointed with perfume by Flavianus the proconsul of Africa, which had the effect of drugging it, so that it floated about as if in a faint, and afterwards disappeared for some months. It then returned and resumed its entertaining habits, but the people of Hippo finally killed it, for their property was being injured by visitors who flocked to see the strange sight.

Sources:
Pliny, *N.H.* IX, 26
Pliny the Younger, *Letters*, IX, 33, ed. Keil, Leipzig, 1881. This version of the story gives just the one boy and the dolphin, which is finally accompanied by a second, *tantum spectator et comes.*
Solinus, XII, 9. Follows the version of the Elder Pliny.

Ios

The boy and the dolphin swim together.
Source: Aelian, *Nat. An.* II, 6.

The Libyan Shepherd

A dolphin loved a Libyan shepherd boy and played with him on the shore, enjoying the sound of his pipes. It longed to mingle with his flocks, to leave the sea, and come to the woodlands.

Sources:
Oppian, *Hal.* V, 453–457.
Exeg. Opp. p. 369, 1. ed. Bussemaker.
Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, IV, 9.

Naupactus

This story has been referred to under the heading, *The Dead Hesiod.*

Paros

Paros, like Sicinus, has a legend of Coeranus.[57]

Poroselene

In the folk-tale of Poroselene a boy and a dolphin were brought up together by an aged couple. When the dolphin grew large, it repaid the old folk by catching fish for them. The boy and the dolphin were playfellows in the sea.

The sources are:

Aelian, *Nat. An.* II, 6, quoting Leonidas of Byzantium who is said to have been an eye-witness.

Oppian, *Hal.* V, 458–518. Aeolis is mentioned here, as in the version in Aelian, above, but not Poroselene. Oppian adds to the tale the regular formula of the dolphin refusing to live after the boy's death.

Pausanias, III, 25, 7, does not make the pair foster-brothers, but tells of seeing a dolphin at Poroselene, that had been cured by a boy of a wound inflicted by fishermen, and adds that he saw the dolphin obey the boy's call and take him to ride on its back.

Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, IV, 1–8. The boy is called Lesbian.

Puteoli

In the reign of Augustus, a dolphin carried a boy back and forth to school from Baiae to Puteoli. Whenever the boy would call it by the name of "Simo," it would hasten from its depths, and carefully sheathing the spines of its back-fin, allow him to mount. When the boy finally died, the dolphin came again and again to look for him, and there is no doubt that it died of grieving for the boy.

Sources:

Greek

Aelian, *Nat. An.* VI, 15. The love of a dolphin for a boy at Dicaearchia, is briefly mentioned, and probably refers to the above story which is derived from Pliny (*v. infra*).

Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, IV, 23.

[57] *Cf.* Usener, *Sintfluthsagen*, 148 f.

Latin

Gellius, *Noctes Atticae*, VI, 8, quotes Apion's *Aegyptiaca*, Book V to the effect that Apion himself saw a boy of Dicaearchia, by name, Hyacinthus, who was beloved by a dolphin that carried him about on its back, first sheathing the spines of its dorsal fin. The dolphin died at the death of the boy and was buried in his grave.

Pliny, *N.H.* IX, 25. Pliny would hesitate to tell this story if he were not sure of its truth, having had it from the letters "of Maecenas and Fabianus and Flavius Alfius and many (others)."

Solinus, XII, 7. Quotes Pliny.

Zacynthus

The prettiest variant of the folk-tale of the Boy and Dolphin is the story told at Zacynthus that the little Telemachus once fell into the sea, and was brought back safely by a dolphin. In gratitude for his son's rescue, Odysseus made the dolphin his shield device and the pattern of his signet ring.

Sources:

Plutarch, *De Sol. An.* XXXVI, who quotes Stesichorus.[58]

Tzetzes, *Ad Lyc.* II, 658. Scholion on the word δελφινόσημα. Stesichorus and Euphorion are quoted as stating that Odysseus wore a dolphin as his device upon his shield, but the reason is not given.

Usener comments to the effect that the prevalence of these tales made it difficult for even the scientific thought of antiquity to get away from the belief in the dolphin's ability to carry a rider, and in its capacity for human feeling, and cites Aristotle, *H.A.* 631a, to illustrate his point. This passage refers to the legends of the Dolphin and Boy at Iasus and Tarentum, and to the story that a school of dolphins flocked to a harbor in Caria where they visibly besought a fisherman to release one of their fellows that he had caught and injured. It also refers to the protective care of the dolphin for its young. In the same way, according to Usener, Propertius involuntarily brings in a dolphin as rescuer into his dream of his shipwrecked love.[59]

These folk-tales are of great antiquity, or, as in the case of the boy of Puteoli who is dated in the time of Augustus, may be supposed to refer back to very early legends. They persist on into the periods of historical art and literature, where they lose their meaning and

[58] *Cf.* Bergk, *PLG*, III, 228, Frg. 70.

[59] Usener, *Sintfluthsagen*, 143. *Cf.* Propertius, II, 26, 17.

become simply decorative motifs as in Bacchylides XVI, 97, where the dolphins accompany Theseus to the abode of Amphitrite.[60] But as early as the Fifth Century, although the motif does not become common until the Hellenistic Period, Eros is the dolphin-rider in art. The dolphin-rider or the dolphin-conveyor persists into Christian legends, as has already been shown in the Legend of St. Lucian. Three of the later legends relate to St. Martian, to the Christian soldier Callistratus of Carthage, and St. Basil the Younger who lived in the Tenth Century A.D. Usener remarks that in these legends a pair of dolphins do the rescuing which makes a more convincing tale.[61]

Finally the tale degenerates into an animal fable. A monkey was once shipwrecked off Sunium, and was taken up by a dolphin that mistook it for a man. As they approached the Piraeus, the dolphin inquired if the monkey was a native of Athens. On hearing the affirmative, it inquired further if the monkey knew the Piraeus. The monkey guessed that the Piraeus meant a man, and replied that he was an intimate friend of his, whereupon the disgusted dolphin dived and drowned the monkey.

Source: *Fabulae Aesopicae Collectae*, ed. Halm, Leipzig, 1854, No. 363.

Apollo Delphinius

The myth of Apollo has various points of similitude with the myth of the Epiphany of Dionysus, for the journey of Helios from dawn to dawn was thought of as in a golden bowl or boat over the heavens.[62]

The cult of Apollo Delphinius was widespread in the historical period. Plutarch states that the worship of the god in this aspect together with Artemis Dictynna exists among many of the Greeks,[63] and Strabo referring to the sanctuary of Apollo Delphinius at Massalia says that this [cult] is common to all Ionians.[64]

It is difficult to trace the origin and history of the cult. Usener[65] states that in all probability there was a god Delphinius before there was an Apollo Delphinius, and that the stories connected with the

[60] *Cf.* Usener, *Sintfluthsagen*, 143.

[61] *Ibid.* pp. 143–144.

[62] Usener, *Sintfluthsagen*, 131.

[63] Plutarch, *De Sol. An.* XXXVI.

[64] IV, 174.

[65] *Sintfluthsagen*, 148. Keller, *op. cit.* p. 219, groups Apollo Delphinius with the Phoenician colonizing gods. A. Mommsen, *Heortologie*, Leipzig, 1864, p. 1, considers him a god of Chalcidian colonization.

dolphin god were originally foreign to Apollo, and only added to the Apollo myths after the name Delphinius had been assumed. Farnell[66] derives the word, Delphinius, from dolphin rather than from Delphi, and Miss Swindler[67] agrees with this etymology.

Beginning with the simple Dolphin-god, we progress to the next step in the legend, the Dolphin-rider, in the story of Icadius the son of Apollo and the nymph Lycia, who personifies the Apollinian festival of the εἰκάδες. Usener considers this the older and more important version of the Apollo-Delphinius myth.[68] As the legend goes, Icadius, leaving his native land of Lycia which he had named for his mother, set out for Italy. He was shipwrecked on the way, and taken upon the back of a dolphin, that set him down near Mt. Parnassus, where he founded a temple to his father Apollo, and called the place Delphi from the dolphin. For this reason also the dolphin is said to have been included among the things sacred to Apollo.

Servius, who tells the story, also quotes from Cornificius Longus[69] a version which brings Icadius from Crete to Mt. Parnassus, led by a dolphin. He named the place Delphi from his conductor, and in memory of the people from amongst whom he had set out upon his journey, he called the plains below Crisaean or Cretan.

The name Icadius is derived from the twentieth day of the month on which there is a festival to Apollo, which is also called εἰκάς. Usener argues from this, that the legendary character who is named Icadius is none other than the Apollo to whom the twentieth of the month is sacred.[70] There was, moreover, a month known as Delphinius in Olus in Crete, Aegina, Chios, and Thera. Usener thinks that this probably fell in the spring.[71] In Aegina a festival to Apollo was held in this month, which was called by the same name, ὑδροφόρια, as the festival held in Athens, in the spring month Anthesterion, and which was connected with the cult of the dead. On the island of Thera, the month Delphinius is the month of the cult of the dead, and the connection between the ritual and Apollo in the aspect of Icadius is illustrated by the fact that the memorial services to the dead are held on the εἰκάς and ἀμφιεικάς of the month.[72]

[66] *Cults of the Greek States*, Oxford, 1907, IV, 145.

[67] Swindler, *op. cit.* p. 22.

[68] *Sintfluthsagen*, 147.

[69] Author of *De Etymis Deorum*. *Cf.* Schanz, *Geschichte der roemischen Litteratur* in *Handbuch der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, ed. I. Mueller, VIII, 1, II, p. 89.

[70] *Sintfluthsagen*, 147.

[71] *Ibid.* p. 148.

[72] *Cf.* Usener, *Sintfluthsagen*, 148, who quotes the *Testamentum Epictetae* from *I.G.* XII[3], No. 330, lines 63–9 and line 133 f., for the days and month.

We now come to the myth of the founding of Delphi in which the part played by the dolphin has already been introduced in the legend of Icadius. Usener distinguishes two versions of the fully developed myth, the folk-tale and the hieratic myth found in the hymn to the Pythian Apollo. In the folk-tale the dolphin sent by Apollo, or Apollo himself in the guise of a dolphin, swims ahead of a ship on which Cretan mariners have embarked, and guides them into the harbor of Crissa where he directs them to found his temple at Delphi and to become his priests. In the Hymn to the Pythian Apollo, on the other hand, the god in the form of a dolphin leaps into the boat and lies there while it proceeds as swiftly as an arrow to Crissa. The hieratic nature of this myth is shown in the fact that the god is in the boat and causes it to move by his divine will.

Another version of the folk-tale in which Apollo assumes the shape of a dolphin in order to lead Cretans to a safe destination, occurs in connection with the founding of the Delphinium in Athens. These Cretans who were caught in a storm were saved by Apollo, who led them to Attica in the guise of a dolphin. In return for this they founded the sanctuary to Apollo Delphinius in Athens.

In addition to the accounts in which Apollo assumes the shape of the dolphin, there is a very interesting description in Servius of the ceremony of the quindecimviri in Rome, in which the god is worshipped in the form of a dolphin. Usener states[73] that this custom, which was observed by the guardians of the Sibylline Books was undoubtedly carried over from Greece quoting Servius: " . . . . and today the dolphin is placed on top of the cauldrons of the quindecimviri, and the day before they offer sacrifice the dolphin is carried around as a symbol, for this reason, that the quindecimviri are warders of the Sybilline Books, moreover the Sibyl is the prophetess of Apollo and the dolphin is sacred to Apollo."

The literary sources are:

The Story of Icadius

Greek

Etymologicum Magnum, ed. Sylburg-Schaefer, Leipzig, 1816, p.298.
Testamentum Epictetae, *I. G.* XII^{3}, 330.

Latin

Cornificius Longus, quoted by Servius, *v. infra.*

[73] *Sintfluthsagen*, 145, note 2.

Servius, *Commentarii in Vergilii Aeneidos*, ed. Thilo, Leipzig, 1878, to Book III, 332.

The Founding of Delphi

The Folk-Tale

Etymologicum Magnum, p.255.

Hermippus, Scholion to Aratus, *Phaenomena*, 315. The constellation of the Dolphin is named in honor of the animal leading the Cretans to Delphi.

Orion, *Etymologicon*, *s.v.* Δελφίνιος.

Plutarch, *De Sol. An.* XXXVI.

Tzetzes, *Ad Lyc.*, 208. This also covers the hieratic myth.

The Hieratic Myth

The Homeric Hymn to the Pythian Apollo, lines 400 ff.

The Founding of the Delphinium in Athens

Etymologicum Magnum, pp. 358–359.

The Conveying of the Statue of Serapis from Sinope to Alexandria

A very interesting variant of the folk-tale[74] of the founding of Delphi is the story of the embassy sent by Ptolemy Soter to fetch from Sinope a statue of Pluto, or the later Serapis. It seems that the ambassadors Soteles and Dionysius, were driven by a high wind past Malea, and when they were tossing about off their course with the Peloponnesus on their right, a dolphin appeared off the prow of the ship, and guided them to Cirrha, where they sacrificed in the hope of a fair voyage. And they discovered that they were to bring back to Egypt from Sinope two gods, Pluto and the copy of the statue of Persephone.

Source: Plutarch, *De Sol. An.* XXXVI.[75]

The Several Delphinia

We see from the foregoing legends that Apollo Delphinius is worshipped in the form of a god to whom the epithet is applied, and also as the dolphin itself. We also know that there was some connection with the cult of the dead in the worship of the god in this aspect, and that Artemis Dictynna of Crete who appears as the Aphaia

[74] *Cf.* Usener, *Sintfluthsagen*, 146, note 2.

[75] This is the only version of the story in which, it seems, the dolphin plays a part. For other versions, *cf.* Robinson, *Ancient Sinope*, Baltimore, 1906, p. 264.

of Aegina, Saronia of Troezen, Issoria of Sparta, and Eurynome of Phigaleia, is the cult-sister of Apollo Delphinius.[76] She is also known as Artemis Delphinia.[77] A sanctuary known as the Delphinium existed in the following places: Athens, Eretria, Chalcis, Chios, Miletus, Massalia, Oropus, Cnossus, and other Cretan sites.[78] We have already heard the folk-tale of the founding of the Delphinium at Athens which was one of the most ancient places of purification in the city. Preller-Robert links this element in the Delphinian cult with the purification rites of Apollo Leucadius.[79] For this reason, according to Preller-Robert, the court for justifiable homicide was held in the Delphinium, and also the Festival of the Delphinia which fell on the sixth of the month Munichion, our April, and probably opened the shipping season. Further than this we do not know, and there is so far no evidence in regard to the ritual of offices in the several Delphinia, which might include the dolphin, as for instance in the procession of the quindecimviri in Rome.

Before closing the section on the Dolphin-god Apollo, the monster Delphyne or Delphynes may be mentioned. This creature is Pytho, the serpent slain by Apollo when he took over Delphi for his sanctuary. It apparently has no connection with the dolphin.[80]

The Dolphin in the Cult of the Dead

It has been seen that the dolphin is the conveyor of the living and of the dead in the legends and folk-tales which have sprung from the myth of Dionysus, and that Apollo is also a conveyor either as a god or in the form of a dolphin. The worship of the dead in the month Delphinius and the myth of Apollo Leucadius may be construed as giving rise to the use of dolphins in the decoration of grave monuments. Usener argues that Greek stelae that represent the dead sitting upon a rock overlooking the sea upon which floats a ship, are not the monuments of shipwrecked persons, but tell the story of the soul waiting to leap from the Λευκὰς πέτρη to the sea from which the ship will rescue and convey it to the Islands of the Blest.[81] He also points out that the pair of dolphins which replace

[76] *Cf.* Swindler, p. 27, and Preller-Robert, *op. cit.* I, 317–318.

[77] Preller-Robert, *op. cit.* p. 260.

[78] *Cf.* Usener, *Sintfluthsagen,* 147–148. He was also worshipped at Olbia, *cf.* Hirst, *The Cults of Olbia, J.H.S.* XXII, 1902, 258.

[79] Preller-Robert, I, p. 260.

[80] *Cf.* Kern, in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopaedie,* IV, pp. 2700–2701.

[81] *Sintfluthsagen,* 217.

the rosettes of the earlier grave stelae, have been taken over into the cult of the dead from the idea of the dolphin as conveyor of the Light God, which has developed into the idea of the dolphin as conveyor of the dead.[82] This appears to be true enough of the later periods, and by Roman times it had become a very common custom to decorate sarcophagi and cippi with dolphins. It is not true, however, of the Fifth Century in Greece, otherwise it would appear that the customary decoration of sarcophagi and stelae would have influenced the decoration of the Athenian lecythoi with the white back-ground. These were sketched with scenes in connection with the dead, one of the commonest being Charon in his boat on the Styx, but the dolphin is not included in their decoration.[83]

In the Hellenistic period, on the other hand, Eros had come to be the commonest figure of the dolphin-rider, and the tradition of the dolphin as conveyor had so permeated the thought of the people, that the combination of the two was very frequent upon sarcophagi. To this traditional background the Christian religion brought the symbol of Jesus as the Fish-conveyor of the Soul. So it is explained by Usener who interprets the acrostic 'IXΘΥΣ as springing from the old idea of the dolphin in ancient folk-lore rather than as a sacred cryptic name.[84] The little Erotes, who frolic upon the Roman grave monuments, have been "baptized and lightly clad" and so descended into Christian art as cherubs.[85]

In addition to symbolism which makes the dolphin a conveyor of the soul, as Usener brings out in his *Sintfluthsagen*, it is also thought of as representing the water of the Other World through which the soul must pass in order to obtain purification. Mrs. Strong,[86] in discussing minor symbols of the Roman grave stelae, touches on this point, and in another connection, that of the Leucadian Leap, Mmes. Strong and Joliffe write of plunging dolphins as symbolizing the purificatory power of water.[87]

[82] *Ibid.* p. 213.

[83] For the exception, *cf.* p. 110, *infra.*

[84] *Sintfluthsagen*, 224. Cumont, *Les Religions orientales dans le Paganisme romain*, Paris, 1909, 174, finds that the symbolism of the Ichthys was probably inspired by the mystical repast in which priests and initiates were permitted to eat the flesh of the fish sacred to the Syrian goddess Atargatis, thus taking a totally different view from that of Usener. But elsewhere Cumont (*op. cit.* p. 358, n. 37) refers the reader to Usener, *Sintfluthsagen*, for the interpretation of 'Ιχθύς.

[85] Usener, *Sintfluthsagen*, 223.

[86] *Apotheosis and After Life*, London, 1915, 215–216.

[87] Strong and Joliffe, *The Stuccoes of the Underground Basilica*, *J.H.S.* XLIV, 1924, 106.

Before leaving the discussion of dolphins in relation to beliefs about the dead, a strange conception of the transmigration of souls may be taken from the Orphic literature of the post-classical period.[88] According to Hermes Trismegistus, the just become eagles among birds, lions among quadrupeds, dragons among reptiles, and among fish dolphins "for these sympathize with them who fall into the sea, and they carry the living to land, and the dead they never touch, though being the greediest species of all water animals."[89]

APHRODITE

The dolphin is constantly connected in art with Aphrodite. Keller[90] traces the association of the two through the etymology of the word which he derives from δελφύς, and would translate as '*Bauchfisch.*'[91] The origin of the goddess is Oriental, not Greek,[92] and Keller bases upon this assumption his theory that in the Phoenician and Syrian religious-symbolism the dolphin, thought of in terms of 'belly-fish,' symbolizes the female principle in Nature, and the dolphin-rider the male principle. We have already seen, however, a number of the dolphin-rider myths, all of which are localized in Greek lands, not excepting the Melicertes myth, which Usener has shown to be Greek rather than Phoenician in origin,[93] so that it is difficult to agree with Keller on his point in regard to the part played by the dolphin-rider in Phoenician religion, especially when he traces the origin of Eros in Greek art directly back to it.[94] Here again, after following the myths and folk-tales of the dolphin-rider, we are obliged to accept the unmistakable words of the literary texts, which state in terms that preclude any inferences as to the symbolism of sexual difference, that the relationship between the boy-rider and the dolphin is entirely homo-sexual.[95] It is true enough that Eros becomes the boy-rider as art becomes more ornate. The fact that mythology made

[88] *Cf.* Christ, VI ed., Vol. II, Part 2, p. 984.

[89] Hermes Trismegistus, in Stobaeus, *Eclogues*, ed. Meinecke, Leipzig, 1860, Vol. I, 291, paragraph [960]. *Cf.* Deonna, *Sauriens et Batraciens*, in *Revue des Etudes grecques*, XXXII, 1919, 135, for the devouring of the flesh of the dead by infernal divinities in the guise of animals.

[90] *Op. cit.* p. 224.

[91] *Cf.* Boisacq, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la Langue grecque*, Paris, 1909, 174–175. Miss Swindler, p. 22, agrees with this interpretation.

[92] Farnell, *Cults*, II, 618.

[93] *Cf.* p. 63, *supra.*

[94] *Op. cit.* p. 225.

[95] Keller, *op. cit.* p. 225, intimates that this is true in Greek mythology.

him the son of Aphrodite before art habitually lent him wings, combined with his lineal descent from the numerous wingless dolphin-riders, and with the legend of the origin of Aphrodite from the sea, is sufficient to make the dolphin, or Eros and the dolphin, the constant attribute of the goddess, without resorting to Keller's orientalized symbolism.

Keller states that Aphrodite and the dolphin sprang together from the sea-foam upon which fell the genitalia of Uranus,[96] but the story in Hesiod's Theogony does not include the dolphin. There is, however, in literature an account of the dolphin carrying the new-born goddess from the sea to the shore of Cyprus.[97]

It seems, therefore, that the dolphin has a double interpretation in connection with Aphrodite, that of the conveyor of Eros or the symbolism of love, and also as the symbol of the sea, in which it is used to suggest the Anadyomene aspect of Aphrodite.

POSEIDON

Like Aphrodite, Poseidon's association with the dolphin is more fully represented in the field of art than in literature. There are, however, certain references which are better taken up under this heading than left to the chapter on archaeology. The dolphin as a symbol of the sea becomes the emblem of Poseidon. He, the god of the golden trident, rules over the dolphins, rides the swiftest of them to court Amymone, changes himself into one of them to woo Melantho, and lends his attribute, the dolphin, to Demeter Melaina of Phigaleia, whom he also once wooed.

Sources:

Aristophanes, *Knights*, 551-560. Poseidon, lord of dolphins.

Lucian, *Dialogi Marini*, 6. The courtship of Amymone. *Ibid.* 8. Dialogue between Poseidon and the Dolphins.

Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, VI, 120. The courtship of Melantho.

Pausanias, VIII, 42, 4. Description of the xoanon of Demeter Melaina with the dolphin in her hand.

The Dolphin Constellation

Closely allied to the Poseidon myths is the explanation of the origin of the Dolphin Constellation. As the story goes, Amphitrite fled from the wooing of Poseidon, and the dolphin finding her out, betrayed

[96] *Op. cit.* p. 225. Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae*, VII, 18, makes this statement about the fish called πομπίλος.

[97] Nonnus Panopolitanus, *Dionysiaca*, XIII, 439–443.

her to him, in reward for which it was set among the stars by Poseidon.

Other versions tell that the dolphin was placed among the stars in memory of its service to Arion, or to Theseus, when he descended through the sea to the abode of Amphitrite, or that it commemorates one of the metamorphosed Tyrrhenian Pirates, or the founding of Delphi.

The literary sources:

Greek

Aristotle, *H.A.* 566 b. This contains a statement in regard to the dolphin's disappearance for about thirty days under the Dog Star. Thompson, in his translation of the *Historia Animalium*, Oxford, 1910, interprets this passage as referring to the constellation of the Dolphin which sets as the Dog-star rises.

Pseudo-Eratosthenes, *Catasterismi*, in *Mythographi Graeci*, ed. A. Olivieri, Leipzig, 1897, III, Fasc. I, 31. This tells the myth, and adds the position of the stars and their number, nine, the number of the Muses, whence the dolphin is called φιλόμουσος.

Hermippus, Scholion to Aratus, *Phaenomena*, 315. In honor of the founding of Delphi.

Nonnus Panopolitanus, *Dionysiaca*, XXIII, 297; XLIII, 191. Allusion to the constellation.

Oppian, *Hal.* I, 385-393. The story of the searching out of Amphitrite by the dolphins, and their reward at the hands of Poseidon, though the setting among the stars is not actually mentioned.

Theon, Scholion to Aratus, *Phaenomena*, 318. Follows Hermippus.

Latin

Avienus ad Aratum, *Phaenomena*, ed. Buhle, lines 700-715, 1117, 1260. Astronomical.

Cicero, *Arateorum Fragmenta*, ed. Buhle, lines 92 ff; 99 ff; 381 ff. *De Natura Deorum*, ed. Mayor, Cambridge, 1883, I, 27, 77; II, 113, 5. Astronomical.

Columella, *De Re Rustica*, XI, 2, 5; XI, 2,45; XI, 2,57. Astronomical.

Germanicus, *Aratea Phaenomena*, ed. Buhle, lines 321 ff; 604 ff; 684 ff.

Hyginus, *Astronomica*, II,17. Quotes Eratosthenes on the wooing of Amphitrite, Aglaosthenes on the commemoration of one of the Tyrrhenian Pirates, and tells the story of Arion. III,16. Astronomical.

Manilius, *Astronomica*, ed. Breiter, Leipzig, 1907, I, 346-7; V,25; 417-19; 714.

Ovid, *Fasti*, I, 457-8; II,79; 117-18; VI, 471-2; 720.

Pliny, *N.H.* VIII, 177; XVIII,234, 235, 255.

Varro, *De Re Rustica*, ed. Keil, Leipzig, 1889, II,5, 13.

Vitruvius, *De Architectura*, ed. Choisy, Paris, 1909, III, Book IX, 4,5.

THE DOLPHIN IN PANTHEISTIC WORSHIP

The tendency of the cults of the several Greek gods to become confused with each other has already been indicated by the similarity of some of the myths which we have just examined, a likeness which leads authorities on the subject to assign the same story to different gods. Cumont[98] writes that this transformation of the Greek polytheism increased after the campaigns of Alexander had popularized the Oriental gods, and also that a tendency arose for the faithful to invoke θεοὺς πάντας καὶ πᾶσας, the combination of these two trends resulting in the creation of an abstract god Πάνθειον or Πάνθεος.

The pantheistic cult spread in the Roman provinces, and became important throughout the whole Empire. There is, apparently, no literary record which associates it with dolphins, but there are many archaeological remains in which the dolphin plays a part as symbol of the sea, or of Poseidon. One of the pantheistic goddesses having the dolphin as her attribute is Isis, who in the aspect of a sea-goddess, probably a development out of Aphrodite Euploia, takes over the symbols of Poseidon, the trident, rudder, prow, and dolphin.[99] The dolphin twined around a rudder is an attribute of Isis-Tyche or Fortuna. Serapis frequently has the dolphin and trident of Poseidon together with the eagle and thunder-bolt of Zeus.[100] Other gods of the pantheistic circle of whom the dolphin has become a symbol are Silvanus-Pantheus, Venus Panthea, Magna Mater.

With Pantheism we have brought down to the post-classical period the cults which employ the dolphin as a symbol. There are isolated instances of the Olympic gods, and also of non-Greek local divinities whose symbol it is, but these will be taken up in the concluding chapters on archaeological subjects.

[98] *Panthea Signa*, in Daremberg et Saglio, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités grecques et romaines.*

[99] Weisshaeupl, *Pantheistische Denkmaeler*, *Jahreshefte*, XIII, 1909, 182–3.

[100] *Ibid.* p. 183, note 13.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER VI

MINOR DIVINITIES AND HEROES. A list of literary references to minor divinities and heroes in connection with dolphins.

Eros

Palladas, in *Anthologia Palatina*, XVI, 207. Epigram describing an Eros holding a dolphin in one hand, a rose in the other.

C. Sollius Apollinaris Sidonius, ed. Mohr, Leipzig, 1895, *Carmen* XI, 43. Frog and a dolphin which is harnessed with roses.

Galatea and Polyphemus

Dracontius, *Carmina Minora*, ed. von Duhn, Leipzig, 1873, VII, 151. Galatea seated on a dolphin.

Philoxenus, in Scholion to Theocritus XI, 1. *Cf.* Bergk, *PLG*, III, p. 611, Frg. 7. The dolphin is a messenger between Polyphemus and Galatea.

Hero and Leander

Ovid, *Epistulae*, ed. R. Merkel, Leipzig, 1868, XVII, *Leandri*, line 131.

Statius, *Silvae*, ed. A. Klotz, Leipzig, 1900, I, 3,28.

Nereids and Nereus (Thetis, vide infra) and Hippocamps

Greek

Archias, in *Anthologia Palatina*, VII, 214. Epigram on a Dead Dolphin, that will no longer ferry the Nereids upon its back to the farthest abodes of Tethys.

Arion, *Hymn*, in Bergk *PLG*, p. 80, lines 9-10. Dolphins, the marine nurslings of the Nereids.

Nonnus, *Dionysiaca*, I, 73. Nereids ride dolphins.

Orphica, ed. E. Abel, Leipzig-Prague, 1885, *Hymn* XXIV. In praise of Nereids, Tritons, and Dolphins.

Plato, *Critias*, 116 e. A description of the sanctuary of Poseidon, in the imaginary land of Atlantis, where the statue of the god is surrounded by a hundred Nereids on dolphins.

Latin

Avienus, *Aratea Phaenomena*, 308–309. Nereus feeds the green dolphins.

Hyginus, *Astronomica*, II, 5. *Cf.* under Theseus, *infra*.

Laevius, *Carmina*, 20, in *Poetae Latini Minores*, ed. Baehrens, Leipzig, 1886, Vol. VI, p. 291. Dolphin and hippocamps.

Nero Imperator, in *Fragmenta Poetarum Romanorum*, ed. A. Baehrens, Leipzig, 1886, Frag. 5. A dolphin and Nereus.

Persius, *Satires*, ed. C. F. Hermann, Leipzig, 1854, I, 94. Contains the above quotation from Nero.

Theseus

Bacchylides, ed. Jebb, Cambridge, 1905, XVI [XVII], lines 97-101. Dolphins carry Theseus to the abode of Poseidon. Usener gives this passage as an example of the myth of the dolphin-conveyor used as a conventional motif in literature.[101]

Hyginus, *Astronomica*, II, 5. Dolphins convey Theseus to the Nereids who give him a crown which is thought by some to be the constellation Corona.

Thetis

Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, XI, 238. Thetis rides a harnessed dolphin.

Statius, *Achilleis*, ed. Klotz, Leipzig, 1902, I, 221. Thetis harnesses a team of dolphins to convey Achilles to Scyros.

Tibullus, *Elegies*, ed. Smith, New York, 1913, I, 5, 45. Thetis rides upon a bridled fish that is blue in color. This is obviously a dolphin.

Valerius Flaccus, *Argonautica*, ed. Kramer, Leipzig, 1913, I, 130-131. A dolphin carries Thetis to her marriage to Peleus.

A Boy with Winged Feet

Eumathius, (also Eustathius), *De Hysmines et Hysminiae Amoribus*, ed. LeBas, in *Erotici Scriptores*, Paris, 1856. The maiden Hysmine is rescued from shipwreck by a dolphin (Books IX, 8, and XI, 13) and is accompanied by a boy with winged feet who rides upon another dolphin, and who flies away as soon as he has brought Hysmine to land (Book XI, 14).

FURTHER REFERENCES TO THE DOLPHIN IN LITERATURE. A collection of references to the dolphin in folk-lore, proverbs, and fables; also references to its appearance, traits, habitat, and finally miscellaneous references.

FOLK–LORE

The King of Sea-Beasts

Comparison of the Dolphin to the Lion and Eagle

Aelian, *Nat. An.* XV, 17.

Aesop, *Fabulae*, 251.

[101] *Sintfluthsagen*, 143.

Aristotle, *Meteorologica*, I, 8.

Gregory of Nyssa, Oration I, *in verba 'Faciamus hominem'*, Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, XLIV, p. 265 B.

Hermes Trismegistus, in Stobaeus, *Eclogues*, *cf.* note 89 *supra.*

Oppian, *Hal.* I, 643; II, 533-543; 638; V, 441.

In Connection with Fishing[102]

Sacredness of the Dolphin

Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae*, VII, 18.

Oppian, *Hal.* V, 416-419; V, 519 ff; Exegesis to Oppian, *Hal.* p. 369 28.

Plutarch, *VII Sap. Conv.* XIX.

Pursuit of Prey by Dolphins

The fact that dolphins pursue small fish for food underlies the stories that they help fishermen by driving the prey into the nets. Dr. E. W. Gudger, of the Museum of Natural History in New York, has some unverified accounts of the occurrence of this phenomenon in modern times, but as the ancient records contain details that are obviously imaginary, it seems best to group them under folk-lore.

Pursuit of Πομπίλοι

The dolphin becomes, as it were, intoxicated by eating these fish, and in its helplessness is washed ashore where it becomes food for sea-birds. The same story is found in both:

Aelian, *Nat. An.* XV, 23.

Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae*, VII, 283, where the source is quoted as Pancrates.

Pursuit of Other Fish

Homer, *Iliad*, XXI, 22. The small fish flee before the dolphin.

Vergil, *Dirae*, ed. Ribbeck, Leipzig, 1868, Vol. IV, p. 167, line 6. The paradox where the dolphins will flee the fish.

Helpfulness to Fishermen

Aelian, *Nat. An.* II, 8. Dolphins help Euboean fishermen on shares.

Oppian, *Hal.* V, 425-447. Repeats from Aelian, *supra.*

Exegesis to Oppian, *Hal.* p. 369, 32.

Pliny, *N.H.* IX, 29-32. In Nemausus dolphins help the fishermen on shares, and in addition receive bread soaked in wine.

[102] *Vide* p. 8, *supra.*

Scylla Catches Dolphins

Odyssey, XII, 96-97.

ORACULAR DOLPHINS

Scholion to Aristophanes, *Frogs*, 1315, ed. F. Duebner, Paris, 1877, p. 536.

Conversation with Mariners in the Golden Age

Babrius, *Fabulae, Proemium*, 10.

IN PROVERB AND APHORISM[103]

Diogenianus, in *Paroemiographi Graeci*, ed. Leutsch, Goettingen, 1851, II, p. 24, Nos. 43 and 44, on teaching the dolphin to swim, and tying the dolphin by the tail.

Fronto, *Epistulae, Ad M. Antoninum de Eloquentia*, ed. Naber, Leipzig, 1867, p. 146. In oratory it is better to copy Tasurcus than Roscius, as in swimming it is better to emulate a frog than dolphins.

Plato, *Republic*, V, 453 d. He who falls into the sea must swim, hoping for the help of a dolphin, or other providential aid.

Stranded Dolphin

Anon. in *Anth. Pal.* XI, 52. The lover gasps like a stranded dolphin. *Cf.* Lucilius under PHYSICAL TRAITS, *"Simo," infra.*

Antipater of Thessalonica, *Anth. Pal.* VII, 216.

Anyte Lyrica, *Anth. Pal.* VII, 215. The dolphin is not mentioned. *Loquitur.*

Artemidorus, *Onirocrita*, II, 16. A stranded dolphin is an omen of death of some loved one.

Oppian, *Hal.* II, 628-633. The dolphin dies on land.

Plutarch, *Demosthenes*, III, quotes Ion on the strength of a dolphin on shore.

FABLES

The Battle between the Dolphins and the Whales

Aesop, *Fabulae*, ed. Halm, 116, 116 b.

Babrius, *Fabulae Aesopeae*, ed. Schneidewin, Leipzig, 1865, No. 39.

The Dolphin and the Tunny

Aesop, *Fabulae*, ed. Halm, 167.

[103] *Cf.* Houghton, *Moral Significance of Animals as Indicated in Greek Proverbs*, Amherst, 1915, 49.

The Dolphin and the Lion

Aesop, *Fabulae*, 251.

Dolphins as Conveyers of the Dead.

Aelian, *Nat. An.* XII, 6. Conveyers of corpses.

Aristotle, *H.A.* 631 a. Carry their fellows ashore when they die, that they may not be devoured.

Pliny, *N.H.* IX, 33. As in Aristotle 631 a, *supra*.

Dolphins as Weather Prophets[104]

Cicero, *De Divinatione*, II, 70, 145.

Alciphron, *Epistulae*, ed. Schepers, Leipzig, 1905, I, 10, 1.

Suetonius, *De Naturis Rerum*, ed. Ritschl, Leipzig, 1860, p.233–234, 152. Sign of storm when dolphins leap all the way out of the water or beat it with their tails.

TRAITS OF CHARACTER

Love of Music in general

Greek

Aelian, *Nat. An.* II, 6; XI, 12; XII, 45, 6.

Arion, *Hymn*, line 8.

Lucian, *Dialogi Marini*, 8.

Philes, *Versus de Animalium Proprietate*, line 1577.

Latin

Pliny, *N. H.* IX, 24.

Solinus, XII, 6–7.

Love of the Lyre

Cramer, *Anecdota Graeca Parisiensis*, Oxford, 1841, IV, 275.

Martianus Capella, *De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*, IX, 927.

Philes, *op. cit.* line 1578.

Love of the Flute (φίλαυλος)

Aelian, *Nat. An.* XII, 45.

Archias, *Anthologia Palatina*, VII, 214.

Aristophanes, *Frogs*, 1317. This is a quotation of the following lines from Euripides' *Electra*.

Euripides, *Electra*, 435–436.

[104] *Cf.* p. 46, *supra*.

Pindar, *Carmina*, ed. Mommsen, *Fragmenta Selecta*, No. 156, p.487. Quoted in Plutarch, *De Sol. An.* XXXVI.

Plutarch, *VII Sap. Con.* XIX.

Solinus, XII, 6.

Love of the Water-Organ

Pliny, *N.H.* IX, 24.

Love of Singing

Aelian, *Nat. An.* XI, 12; XII, 45.

Pliny, *N.H.* IX, 24, 28.

Tameness

Aristotle, *H.A.* 631 a. From Theophrastus.[105]

Plutarch, *De Sol. An.* XXXVI.

Greed

Oppian, *Hal.* II, 551–2.

Gregariousness

Aelian, *Nat. An.* X, 8; XI, 12. Dolphins beg off a captured fellow from a fisherman.

Antigonus Carystius, *Historia Mirabilium*, LV (60)

Aristotle, *H.A.* 631 a. Dolphins travel in schools. The folk-tale of the dolphins who begged their fellow free from a Carian fisherman or king also belongs here.

Pliny, *N.H.*, IX, 33. Rex, a misreading of βασιλεύς for ἁλιεύς.[106]

Cleverness

Aelian, *Nat. An.* XI, 12.

Plutarch, *De Sol. An.* XXXVI.

Disinterestedness

Plutarch, *De Sol. An.* XXXVI.

Other Traits

"*Blandus*," Statius, *Silvae*, II, 2, 120.

"*Innoxius*," Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae*, ed. Clark, Berlin, 1910, XX, 8, 47.

"*Lascivus*," Accius, *Medea*, 403.

"*Minax*," Dracontius, *Carmina Minora*, ed. von Duhn, p. 29, line 151.

[105] Wellmann, *loc. cit.* p. 2505. *Cf.* Chap. I.

[106] Keller, *op. cit.* p. 215.

PHYSICAL TRAITS AND HABITS

There follow references to physical traits of the dolphin which were not included in the first chapter on the ground that they were unnecessary to a selective discussion of the biology of the dolphin in as far as it affects the fields of literature and art.

A Sea-Monster (μεγακήτης)

Homer, *Iliad*, XXI, 22.

Of the Sea. Follower of Ships

Greek

Aristophanes, *Frogs*, 1317. Dolphins play about the dark prows.

Constantine Manasses, in *Erotici Scriptores Graeci*, ed. Hercher, Leipzig, 1859, III, 48–49. A man fallen into the sea practises the art of a dolphin. The dolphin follows ships.

Euripides, *Electra*, 435–436. The original of the above quotation from Aristophanes. *Helena*, 1454–1455.

Moschus, *Idyl* II, ed. Meinecke, Berlin, 1856, line 141. Of the sea.

Pindar, *Carmina*, ed. Mommsen, *Pythian Odes*, II, 50–51. *Fragmenta Selecta*, I, 4, 1417, p. 452. The Aeginetans are compared to dolphins on the sea. *Ibid.* XI, 156, p.487. Quoted in Plutarch, *De Sol. An.* XXXVI. The marine dolphin.

Latin

Accius (Attius), in *Scaenicae Romanorum Poesis Fragmenta*, ed. O. Ribbeck, Leipzig, 1871, p.188. *Medea*, 404–405. Dolphins follow ships.

Cassiodorus, *Variae*, III, 51, 8, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, ed. Mommsen, Vol. XII, Berlin, 1894, p.106.

Manilius, *Astronomica*, V, 444. Imitation of the motion of a dolphin.

Ovid, *Epistulae*, XVIII [XIX]. The dolphin swims through the waves.

Seneca, *Oedipus*, 466. The dolphin follows the flying sails.

Vergil, *Aeneid*, IX, 119. The ships plunge to the bottom like dolphins.

Swift[107]

Accius, *Medea*, 403.

Arion, *Hymn*, *PLG* III, p. 80, line 7, lightly bounding; line 8, swiftly running dogs.

[107] *Cf.* p. 7, *supra.*

Oppian, *Hal.* II, 535. Swift as a missile.

Pindar, *Nemean Odes*, ed. Bury, London, 1890, VI, 66 ff. The speed of the trainer Melesias is compared to that of the dolphin.

Physical Appearance

"*Caeruleus*," Manilius, *Astronomica*, V, 417.

"*Curvus*," *cf.* "*Pandus*," *infra*. Avienus, *Aratea Phaenomena*, line 700. Cicero, *Arateorum Fragmenta*, 91–92. Ovid, *Epistulae*, XVII, 131; *Fasti*, II, 113, *Tergo delphina recurvo*; *Metamorphoses*, II, 265–266. Propertius, *Elegies*, III, 17, 25, *Curva delphinum corpora*. Seneca, *Oedipus*, 466. Statius, *Thebais*, I, 121.

The above selections show the use of "*curvus*" as an epithet is common in the literature of Rome. There is little doubt but that it is suggested by the Curvilinear Type of the dolphin in art, which had become very prevalent in the decadent periods.

"*Pandus*," Ovid, *Tristia*, III, 10, 43.

"*Simo*."[108] Plautus, *Mostellaria*, has a character called *Simo*. Lucilius, *Carmina*, ed. Marx, Leipzig, 1904, *Deorum Concilium*, VII, 284, *si movet ac simat nares, delphinus ut olim*. *Cf.* Marx, *Studia Luciliana*, Bonn, 1882, where this is restored by comparing it with *Anth. Pal.* IX, 52, *vide supra*.

"*Viridis*", Avienus, *Aratea Phaenomena*, 6309.

Bristle-Maned (φριξαύχην)

Arion, *Hymn*, *PLG*, 3, p. 80, line 8.

Short-Finned

Pindar, *Pythian Odes*, ed. Gildersleeve, New York, 1885, IV, 17.

Habitat

Aelian, *Nat. An.* XVI, 18. In the Indian Ocean there are two kinds of dolphins, wild and tame.

Ammianus Marcellinus, XXII, 15, 18. Dolphins in Nile.

Ausonius, *Mosella*, ed. H. de la Ville de Mirmont, Paris, 1889, p. 13, line 137. The dolphin called a river dweller.

Q. Curtius Rufus, *De Gestis Alexandri Magni*, ed. Halm, Leipzig, 1871, VIII, 9, 9. Dolphins in the River Dyardanes.

Isidor, *Etymologiae*, XII, 6, 11-12. Dolphins in Nile, *cf.* Seneca and Pliny.

[108] *Cf.* pp. 5, 11 ff., *supra*.

Pliny, *N.H.* VIII, 91. Dolphins enter the Nile.

Strabo, XV, 719, quotes Artemidorus and Nicolaus of Damascus to the effect that there are crocodiles and dolphins in the Ganges.

MISCELLANEOUS

The Dolphin in Combination

Vergil, *Aeneid*, III, 427–428. Scylla has dolphins' tails.

Cyprus in the Shape of a Dolphin

Nonnus, *Dionysiaca*, XIII, 436-438. Nereus rounds off the island with his trident, into the shape of a dolphin.

The Dolphin in Place Name

Pliny, *N.H.* III, 48. Portus Delphini.

δελφινίζω

Lucian, *Lexiphanes*, 5. To duck like a dolphin in swimming.

The Flower Delphinium

Dioscurides, *De Materia Medica*, ed. Wellmann, Berlin, 1907, II, p. 84. The flower is so called because the leaflets resemble a dolphin.

Pseudo-Dioscurides, *De Herbis Femininis*, ed. Kaestner, in *Hermes*, XXXI, 1896, 630, Chapter LVI. The plant is so-called because its seeds or flowers resemble the marine dolphin.

Medicinal Use of the Dolphin

Pliny, *N.H.* XXXII, 83, 113, 117.

In Literary Descriptions of Shields

Hesiod, *Shield of Heracles*, ed. Flach, Leipzig, 1899, lines 209–212. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff states that the description is of an actual shield, a dedication in some temple.[109] He further points out the dittography in these lines, and illustrates by a rearrangement his statement that the following are genuine:

δοιοὶ δ'ἀναφυσιόωντες
ἀργύρεοι δελφῖνες
ἐθύνεον ἰχθυάοντες
τῶν δ'ὑπὸ χάλκειοι τρέον ἰχθύες.[110]

[109] *Hermes*, XL, 1905, 118.
[110] *Ibid.*

Homer, *Iliad* Σ, Papyrus fragment from First Century B.C., in *Berliner Klassikertexte, Heft* V, Part 1, ed. Schubart-von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Berlin 1907, pp.18-20. This includes lines 207-213 from the Shield of Heracles, with slight variations, and confirms von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff's statements (*q.v. supra*) in regard to the genuine lines of the Shield.

Vergil, *Aeneid*, ed. Ribbeck, Leipzig, 1862, VIII, 673-674. The shield of Aeneas has two silver dolphins among the decorations.

CHAPTER VII

THE DOLPHIN IN ART AND IN ARCHAEOLOGICAL REMAINS OF THE HISTORICAL PERIODS OF GREECE AND ROME

In the preceding chapters it was necessary to take up the examples as inclusively and in as great detail as possible, because of their comparative rarity in relation to the duration of the periods covered. These were, moreover, the periods in which the artistic conception and form of the dolphin were developing, and in which traditions about the dolphin were growing up that were to make it one of the stock decorative figures in all forms of Greek art, and consequently of Roman art.

In the historical periods, on the other hand, one is forced by the extraordinarily voluminous material to work selectively, confining the examples cited to the well known or unique pieces. In doing this the study already made in Chapter II of the four underlying types of dolphins will be constantly used.

The Dolphin in Vase-Painting

With very rare exceptions, dolphins are used in two ways only in Greek vase-painting, either to symbolize the sea or to fill space. In the latter case, the type is usually dictated by the requirements of the design.

Attic Vases

Proto-Attic Vases

The Pisciform Type of dolphin occurs on a Proto-Attic oenochoe in the Metropolitan Museum, New York. This animal is used to fill in the spaces between the horses and wolf (?) of the decoration, and closely resembles the dolphins of the Geometric vases.[1]

One of the finest examples of dolphins in Greek vase-painting belongs to this early period. On the famous Nessus or Netus Amphora,[2] where the decoration still follows the Geometric convention of horizontal bands, a row of dolphins is painted directly beneath the main field. They belong to the Thick-Headed Type, and are furnished with three dorsal and three belly finlets in addition to their little back-fins and flippers. Their beaks are decidely "σιμοί," and the curvature of

[1] Metropolitan Museum, No. 23. 160. 18.

[2] *Antike Denkmaeler*, I, Pl. 57.

the body pronounced. Pfuhl praises these delightful little animals for their decorative outlines.[3]

Attic Black-Figured Ware

A not unusual device in the Black-Figured ware, is the painting of a dolphin on the outside of a cylix beneath each handle. The space into which the dolphin is fitted usually prescribes the Thick-Headed Type. The dolphin is used simply as a filler, although in some examples it is peculiarly appropriate to the subject of the decoration. This is true of the very beautiful cylix in the Louvre, signed by the potter Nicosthenes,[4] which has on either side a scene of two boats racing under full sail. The boats are reminiscent of the ship of Dionysus in the center of the Execias cylix in Munich,[5] but the dolphins of the Nicosthenes cylix, conforming to the exigencies of the space are very close both in shape and in detail to the Thick-Headed Type on the Corinthian aryballus studied in Chapter II.[6] If, therefore, Execias painted both cylices, we have in him an artist who is acquainted with the different types of dolphins, and who uses them according to the demands of the design.

Two eye-cylices in the Metropolitan Museum in New York have a dolphin under each handle.[7] The decoration of these does not suggest that the dolphins symbolize the sea, as Pottier interprets those of the Nicosthenes boat-race cylix, for it consists, in the one case of satyrs, in the other of sphinxes.

A very interesting elaboration of the dolphin motif beneath the handles of Black-Figured cylices occurs on an example in the Louvre,[8] of an eye-cylix on which two dolphins of the Thick-Headed Type drawn tail to tail below the handle, have their dorsal fins produced into a very high crest or wing which extends upward between the handle and the eye, on either side, almost to the lip of the vase, making a very handsome and striking decoration.

The above are only a few examples among many others of the use of dolphins as filler-motifs beneath the handles of Black-Figured cylices. The fact that so many have survived to our day indicates

[3] *Op. cit.* I, §120, fig. 89.

[4] Pottier, *Vases antiques du Louvre, Salles* E-G, F 123. Pottier states that these dolphins represent the sea. For an illustration of this vase, *cf.* Pfuhl, *op. cit.*, III, 260.

[5] *Cf.* p. 10 ff.

[6] *Cf.* p. 13, *supra.*

[7] Nos. 12. 234. 4, and 25. 78. 6.

[8] Pottier, *Vases antiques du Louvre, Salles* E-G, F 143.

that this item of decoration was common in the ware of Attica in the Sixth Century. By the time the Red-Figured ware had come in, the fashion had apparently waned, as a diligent search reveals only one example, a cylix in the Louvre signed by the potter Chelis[9] and attributed by Beazley to the Euergides Painter.[10] The dolphin belongs to the Thick-Headed Type, but the flukes of the tail appear to be horizontal. As the main scene of the decoration of this cylix represents athletic contests there is no question of the dolphins being used as a symbol.

The dolphin occurs under the handles of Corinthian vases.

Another decorative motif which is common upon Attic Black-Figured ware is the row of dolphins about the inside rim of vases. Hoppin[11] lists five amphorae signed by the potter Nicosthenes, around the inside of the rim of which are, in each instance, a row of plunging dolphins drawn so as to radiate from the smaller diameter, their heads facing the opening. Hoppin quotes sixteen dolphins in the case of No. 35, twenty in Nos. 63 and 82. The similarity in design, and, so far as it is possible to ascertain from the photographs in Hoppin, in the type (Thick-Headed) and execution of the dolphins, indicates that these vases come from the hand of one painter. The main decoration of the amphorae is, however, far inferior to that of the cylix with the boat-race, and precludes their assignment to the painter of that very beautiful vase by the potter Nicosthenes.

Two canthari in Berlin[12] in the later Black-Figured style, have on their inside rims in each instance a row of downward plunging dolphins. They are ornamented with a touch of red at the mouth and have light bellies. The arrangement appears to be as in the Nicosthenes amphorae.

The "Miniaturists" are represented among Black-Figured vase-painters who employ the dolphin. A cylix from Gordion,[13] now in the Staatsmuseum, Berlin, signed by Clitias and Ergotimus, has in the center three dolphins of the Thick-Headed Type. These little animals are very finely drawn, but are not as effective on account of their being crowded into the space they are intended to fill, as is

[9] Pottier, *Vases antiques du Louvre, Salles* E-G, G 15.

[10] Beazley, *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils*, Tuebingen, 1925, 32, No. 21.

[11] *Handbook of Greek Black-Figured Vases*, Paris, 1924, Nikosthenes, Nos. 12, 13, 35, 63, 82. No. 82 is doubtful.

[12] Furtwaengler, *Beschreibung der Vasensammlung im Antiquarium*, Berlin, 1885, II, Nos. 4012 and 4013.

[13] Pfuhl, *op. cit.* III, No. 214.

the one dolphin in the center of a miniaturist cylix in Boston.[14] This dolphin is of the Thick-Headed Type, and has a very abrupt dorsal curve in order to make it fill the space. Beautiful drawing and the delicacy of the incised details, such as the four lines which mark off the flukes from the small, and the lines indicating a gill-fin against the black body combine with an effective touch of red at the beak to make this dolphin a little gem of the miniaturist style.

Rarely, as has been said above, are dolphins the principal or sole decoration of a vase, with the exception of the two "Miniaturist" cylices. There is, however, a Black-Figured lecythus[15] which is ornamented with three dolphins. According to the description, these are drawn plunging downwards. As there is no illustration, it is impossible to identify the type.

The Dolphin in Illustrations of the Ἅλιος Γέρων *Myth*

In the Geometric Period the recording of myths in art was beginning, and by the time the potters of Athens had learned to decorate their vases with black figures, it held full sway. Among the myths in which the dolphin plays the part of a symbol of the sea is the story, frequently represented upon vases, of Heracles wrestling with the Old Man of the Sea.

On a Black-Figured hydria in the Louvre[16] the contest is shown with a dolphin plunging in the right field. This vase is described as in the style of Timagoras and Execias, and the dolphin, while not so beautifully proportioned as the seven on the Dionysus cylix in Munich, belongs to that same Simple Curvilinear Type. A Black-Figured hydria in the Metropolitan Museum[17] has a similar scene, with the dolphin escaping right. This dolphin has a pisciform head, and the tail, which we must imagine as still entangled in the mêlée, is not visible.

Other examples[18] depict the combat between Heracles and the Old Man of the Sea, in which ἅλιος γέρων holds a dolphin in his hand. The dolphin in this position is a symbol of the sea, exactly as it was in the two hydriae above.

An often quoted Black-Figured hydria in the Bibliothèque Na-

[14] Boston Museum of Fine Arts, No. 24. 451.

[15] Paribeni, *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità*, II, 1905, 342–343.

[16] Pottier, *Vases antiques du Louvre, Salles* E-G, F 51.

[17] No. 16. 70.

[18] *Cf.* Brueckner, *Porosskulpturen auf der Acropolis, Ath. Mitt.* XV, 1890, 103, note 2.

tionale in Paris[19] represents the combat between Heracles and "Nereus." Luce[20] knows of only two other vases which show the scene in the same way, an unpublished hydria in the British Museum, E 162, and a scyphus in Philadelphia. He does not mention a dolphin on either of these. In the hydria in the Bibliothèque Nationale, the dolphin, a very crudely drawn animal, best related to the Pisciform Type, plunges between "Nereus" and a Nereid running off right.[21]

Ἅλιος γέρων appears without Heracles on a Black-Figured amphora in Berlin,[22] on which the Old Man holds a dolphin by the tail in his left hand, and five white-bellied dolphins serve as fillers of space and also as symbols.

The Dolphin Shield-Device

We already know from literary sources that the dolphin was used as a shield device, and the frequency of its occurrence upon both Black and Red-Figured vases indicates that it was a common pattern for the decoration of armor. The adaptability of the shape of a dolphin to a curved surface is the reason which underlies its frequent selection in this instance.

Among Black-Figured vases decorated with figures carrying shields with a dolphin for the device are three Panathenaic amphorae.

1. The Burgon Amphora[23] in the British Museum, the earliest Panathenaic amphora which has come down to us,[24] has a very fat dolphin of the Thick-Headed Type, painted in white upon the round shield on the left arm of the equally stocky, solid Athena.

2. A Panathenaic amphora in the Louvre[25] is unfortunately not

[19] De Ridder, *Catalogue des Vases peints de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, 1901, 166 ff., No. 225.

[20] Luce, *Heracles and the Old Man of the Sea*, *A.J.A.*, XXVI, 1922, 176.

[21] *Cf.* Baumeister, *Denkmaeler des klassischen Altertums*, II, p. 1017, fig. 1227.

[22] Berlin, *Antiquarium*, I, 1676.

[23] *Br. Mus. Cat. Vases*, II, p. 98. B 130.

[24] Von Brauchitsch, *Die Panathenaischen Preisamphoren*, Leipzig und Berlin, 1910, 116. Von Brauchitsch makes a statement at this point to the effect that the dolphin as a shield device occurs on only one other Panathenaic amphora, that it is rare and confined to the earlier periods, and that the latest example is probably a cylix of Epictetus in Wuerzburg (III, No. 432). To this I should like to add one other example of dolphins on shields on Panathenaic amphorae, and to refer to Chase, *Shield Devices of the Greeks*, *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XIII, 103–104, where there are listed 20 Black-Figured vases with one dolphin as a shield device and 11 (or 13?) of the same style with two dolphins. In the Red-Figured style Chase lists 10 in all, including shields with one and two dolphins.

[25] *Ibid.* p. 14, No. 6. Not listed in Chase, *op. cit.*

illustrated in Pottier's catalogue. Von Brauchitsch writes that the shield of Athena is decorated with a dolphin.

3. A fragment of a Panathenaic Amphora,[26] on which Athena carries a shield ornamented with two dolphins, facing left, one above the other. They are of the Simple Curvilinear Type.

An amphora in the Late Black-Figured style, in Berlin,[27] represents Athena in the Panathenaic manner. She carries a shield with two dolphins in white paint for its device.

Other Black-Figured vases with dolphin shield devices include a large crater from Orvieto, in Boston,[28] where the dolphin is still visible in very faint white slip; a Black-Figured lecythus in Bologna representing the combat between a Greek and an Amazon whose shield bears two dolphins facing left, one above the other, with a ball between them.[29] These dolphins are of the Simple Curvilinear Type, and their bodies are not finished by a definite tail, either in profile or horizontal flukes. Further examples are a late Black-Figured cylix in Berlin, representing five pairs of hoplites, in combat, one bearing a shield with the dolphin device.[30] A very well-drawn example of the Thick-Headed Type inclining towards the Simple Curvilinear Type, occurs on a shield on a fragment in Athens.[31]

The remaining examples of Black-Figured vases, with dolphins included in the decoration, are individual and cannot be so easily grouped as the foregoing ones.

A dolphin between two ships is shown on a Black-Figured dinus in Madrid[32] and on a Black-Figured cylix in the Louvre,[33] on which they are of the Simple Curvilinear Type.

One of the most unique of Black-Figured vases is a scyphus in the Boston Museum[34] which has on one side, a row of six warriors riding

[26] Graef, *Die Antiken Vasen der Akropolis zu Athen*, Berlin, 1911, *Heft* II, Pl. 60, No. 932a. Not listed in Chase, *op. cit.*

[27] Berlin, *Antiquarium*, I, 1873. Not listed in Chase, *op. cit.*

[28] Museum of Fine Arts, No. 00.153.

[29] Pellegrini, *Museo Civico di Bologna, Catalogo dei Vasi Antichi Dipinti delle Collezioni Palagi ed Universitaria*, Bologna, 1900, p. 33, fig. 26. This device, two dolphins with a ball or pellet between them, is also found on two vases cited by Chase, *op. cit.* p. 94, VII, an amphora in "(Munich, 680); on Boeot. shield of warrior," and on a hydria in the *Br. Mus. Cat. Vases*, II, p. 192, B 330, where the shield is also Boeotian.

[30] Berlin, *Antiquarium*, I, No. 1784.

[31] Graef-Langlotz, *Akropolisvasen*, *Heft* IV, Pl. 98, No. 2414c.

[32] Leroux, *Vases grecs et italo-grecs du Musée de Madrid*, Bordeaux, 1912, p. 33, No. 62.

[33] Pottier, *Vases antiques du Louvre, Salles* E-G, No. F 145.

[34] Robinson, *Boston Museum Catalogue of Greek, Etruscan, and Roman Vases* (1893) p. 136, No. 372.

dolphins, and on the other side a row of warriors on ostriches. Each procession rides towards a flute-player, from which it is evident that here we have not a representation of actual warriors but of comasts in warrior costume.[35] The dolphins are evidently drawn to represent a choral figure of two rows of three each, as, reading from left to right, the head of the first dolphin overlaps the tail of the second, the head of the second the tail of the third, while the fourth begins the next row with its tail overlapping the head of the third and its head overlapping the tail of the fifth, the head of which overlaps the tail of the sixth. The fourth dolphin is thus the only one to stand out complete. They belong to the Thick-Headed Type. The outline of the beak is prolonged in a line parallel to the concave ventral outline as far as the flukes. This gives the appearance of a flattening of the underpart of the belly, and of the producing of the skin on either side of it into a sort of flange such as it is possible to observe in a snail. This is a device to mark off the lighter-colored belly from the darker back, as is made evident by the contrast in coloring shown on a lecythus with the white background, *q.v. infra*. It is also a convention frequently found on coins.

A Black-Figured hydria in Athens,[36] the subject of which is usually thought to be divers or the punishment of pirates, includes in the representation two pisciform dolphins and an octopus. Mrs. Strong interprets this vase in the light of the ordeal by water or the purification of the soul.[37] The rôle played by the dolphin in this aspect has been discussed in the preceding chapter.

A Black-Figured pinax in Vienna[38] is one of the unusual examples in Attic art, for we more often see the plate with the exergue in the vase-painting of Ionia. This, however, is ornamented with Heracles and the Cretan Bull, and in the exergue a pair of dolphins.

The Attic Black-Figured style produces, for the most part the Thick-Headed Type of dolphin, as a decorative more often than as a symbolic motif. The dolphins of this period are used with the restraint that lends so much charm to archaic art, and some of the most pleasing examples of the representation of the animal come from

[35] *Cf.* Flickinger, *The Greek Theatre and its Drama*, Third ed., Chicago, 1926, 40, fig. 15.

[36] Pfuhl, *op. cit.* III, fig. 281.

[37] Strong and Joliffe, *The Stuccoes of the Underground Basilica*, *J.H.S.* XLIV, 1924, 106, note 143.

[38] Masner, *Sammlung ant. Vasen u. Terracotten im K. K. oesterr. Museum*, Vienna, 1892, No. 240.

these vases. Although it has been thoroughly discussed in Chapter II above, a section on Black-Figured vases should not be concluded without a reference to the Execias cylix in Munich, where the dolphins are arranged in one of the most delightful compositions of Greek art. A reference from Pomponius Porphyrio may not be amiss here. As he comments upon the failure, in a certain instance, to dilute Chian wine with sea-water, he quotes from Varro as follows: *inde institutum tradit Varro, ut delphini circa Liberum pingerentur.*[39] If we are to infer from these words that the design of the Execias cylix was common enough in antiquity, we may none the less feel sure that there has been preserved to us from among many such vases, one which must always have been singled out as an object of rare beauty.

Attic Red-Figured Ware

Signed and Attributed Vases

There are a fair number of signed or attributed Red-Figured vases which are decorated with dolphins. These follow in alphabetical order.

The Achilles-Painter.[40] A Nolan amphora with triple handles in the Hermitage. Thetis or a Nereid carrying a helmet rides upon a dolphin of the Thick-Headed Type, with the lower fluke docked.

The Potter Andocides.[41] An amphora in the Louvre. This vase, which has been much retouched, represents four women bathing. Beneath one who is swimming are two dolphins, a cross between the Pisciform and Simple Curvilinear Types.

The Master of the Berlin Amphora. Three beautiful vases with dolphins included in the decoration come from the hand of this painter. 1. The first[42] is the well-known illustration of Apollo Delphinius in the Vatican.[43] The god sits upon his winged tripod, playing the lyre, as he is wafted through the air over the sea. On either side of the legs of the tripod a dolphin of the Simple Curvilinear Type with the docked fluke, plunges downward into the deep. 2. There is also

[39] Pomponius Porphyrio, *Commentarii in Q. Horatium Flaccum*, ed. Meyer, Leipzig, 1874, *Satire* II, 8, 15.

[40] Hoppin, *Handbook of Attic Red-Figured Vases*, Cambridge, Mass., 1919, I, 8, No. 33.

[41] Pottier, *Vases antiques du Louvre, Salles* E-G, No. F 203; Hoppin, *Attic R.-F. Vases*, I, 38, No. 4. Hoppin says this vase properly belongs to the Black-Figured style. as the figures are in white on a black background.

[42] Hoppin, *Attic R.-F. Vases*, I, 66, No. 51. *Cf.* also Baumeister, I, 102, fig. 108.

[43] *Cf.* Keller, *op. cit.* p. 219. Also Usener, *Sintfluthsagen*, 133–134.

a large volute crater in the Louvre,[44] with the decoration of the neck divided into two bands, on the lower of which are three Nereids running to Nereus and Doris. The second Nereid holds a dolphin in her left hand. The third vase, a small double-handled neck-amphora at Harvard,[45] lent by Mr. E. P. Warren, represents ἅλιος γέρων holding in his left hand a small dolphin of the Simple Curvilinear Type, with the docked fluke.

The Painter of the Bologna Boreas. An attributed lecythus in the Metropolitan Museum.[46] The decoration consists of a Nereid running left, grasping a dolphin by the small in her right hand. The dolphin is little and belongs to the Simple Curvilinear Type.

Chelis. This vase was discussed above under Black-Figured Vases, with reference to cylices with dolphins under the handles.

Douris. Four pieces with dolphins come from this painter. 1. A cylix in the Louvre.[47] On one side of the exterior is a combat of five hoplites, one of whom carries a shield on which are three dolphins of the Simple Curvilinear Type with the lower fluke docked. 2. A cylix in the Louvre[48] showing on the interior Poseidon and Amphitrite, on one side of the exterior the Wrestling of Peleus and Thetis, on the other four frightened Nereids, one of whom holds a dolphin in her hand, running to Nereus and Doris. Beside the heads of Nereus and Doris plunge two small dolphins of the Simple Curvilinear Type, though they tend to be stocky. Their tails have vertical flukes while the tail of the one held by the Nereid has the lower fluke docked. Doris holds either a fish or a pisciform dolphin. The little animals are obviously used to indicate that the scene is taking place at the bottom of the sea. 3. A cylix from the work-shop of Douris, in the Louvre.[49] On one side of the exterior is the Wrestling of Peleus and Thetis, with two Nereids escaping from the mêlée. Each of these holds a little dolphin with a black back and red belly. The tail has the lower fluke docked. They belong to the Simple Curvilinear Type. 4. In Boston there are two fragments in the style of Douris,[50] on

[44] Pottier, *Vases antiques du Louvre, Salle* G, G 166; Hoppin, *Attic R.-F. Vases*, I, 64, No. 39.

[45] Hoppin, *Attic R.-F. Vases*, I, 59, No. 6; Beazley, *Attic R.-F. Vases*, 39, fig. 22.

[46] Metropolitan Museum, No. 20.197. Not in Hoppin, *Attic R.-F. Vases.*

[47] Pottier, *Vases antiques du Louvre, Salle* G, G 117; Hoppin, *Attic R.-F. Vases*, I, 248, No. 21.

[48] Pottier, *Vases antiques du Louvre, Salle* G, G 116; Hoppin, *Attic R.-F. Vases*, I, 247, No. 20.

[49] Pottier, *op. cit.* G 126; Hoppin, *op. cit.* 287, No. 90.

[50] Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Nos. 03.856 a-c.

one a seated woman holds by the tail a dolphin which is simply outlined with a relief line. On the other fragment a woman holds a dolphin in a similar manner. This animal is also in outline. Both belong to the Simple Curvilinear Type. On the second fragment there is an old man's beard, a hand with a scepter and the letters [N]EPEYΣ.

Epictetus. Von Brauchitsch mentions a cylix in Wuerzburg,[51] with dolphins as a shield device. It is not noted in Hoppin.

Euphronius. From this artist come two vases ornamented with dolphins. 1. The first,[52] signed by Euphronius as potter, and attributed to the Panaetius-Painter,[53] is the beautiful cylix in the Louvre depicting the scene of Theseus receiving his crown from Amphitrite, which is celebrated in the Ode of Bacchylides. Three dolphins of the Simple Curvilinear Type fill the space behind Theseus, and serve to indicate that the scene is at the bottom of the sea. 2. Another cylix, attributed to Euphronius, in the British Museum,[54] portrays the Amazons Hippolyta and Thero, armed as a hoplite and archer, charging. The shield of Hippolyta has as a device a winged dolphin.

Euthymides. A hydria in the Louvre[55] has as the chief design an assembly of gods, Hermes, Dionysus, Ariadne, Amphitrite, and Poseidon, the latter carrying his trident in his right hand, and holding a small dolphin by the tail in his left. This dolphin is pisciform and stocky. Hyginus writes in his account of the myths relating to the Dolphin Constellation, *qui Neptuno simulacra faciunt, Delphinum aut in manu, aut sub pede constituere videmus, quod Neptuno gratissimum esse arbitrantur.*[56]

Hieron. From the potter Hieron we have two vases in which dolphins are used in the ornamental border of garments. 1. The first, a cylix in Berlin,[57] attributed to Macron[58] is decorated with a band of Maenads dancing before a herm of Dionysus draped with a himation on which are painted little plunging dolphins to represent embroi-

[51] *Cf.* note 24, *supra.*

[52] Pottier, *Vases antiques du Louvre, Salle* G, G 104; Hoppin, *Attic R.-F. Vases,* I, 398, No. 11.

[53] Beazley, *Vasenmaler,* 108, No. 38.

[54] *Br. Mus. Cat. Vases,* III, E 45; Hartwig, *Meisterschalen,* Pl. XIII; Murray, *Designs from Greek Vases in the British Museum,* Pl. VII; Chase, *op. cit.* p. 104, XCVII.

[55] Pottier, *Vases antiques du Louvre, Salle* G, G 41; Hoppin, *Euthymides and His Fellows,* Cambridge, Mass., 1917, 121, Pl. XXX.

[56] *Astronomica,* II, 17.

[57] Berlin, *Antiquarium,* II, No. 2290.

[58] Beazley, *Vasenmaler,* 213, No. 26.

dery. 2. The second is a cotyle in the British Museum[59] also attributed to Macron,[60] on one side of which the Eleusinian divinities are shown, Demeter wearing a mantle decorated with dolphins and other animals and objects, again to represent embroidery.

Stephani[61] writes that the dolphin may symbolize either water or love, according to the context with which it is used, and adds that in vases with Dionysiac designs it has an aphrodisian character. It is true that the Black-Figured cylices with dolphins beneath the handles are frequently decorated with Sileni, but it is doubtful whether this motif is rarer upon cylices which do not have dolphins in that position. The chapter on folk-lore and literature, has, moreover, gathered together material in regard to the dolphin in connection with Dionysus, all of which points to the symbolism of water. Finally, in the case of the cylix by Hieron, it is evident that the decorative quality of the dolphin is the excuse for its use as a motif in the design of clothing. The fact that it is used in a similar manner upon the mantle of Demeter on the cotyle by Hieron, dispels any possibility of its having been selected in the case of the other vase as a symbol peculiar to Dionysus. In this connection it is of interest to recall the sculptured fragments of the veil of Despoena from the marble group by Damophon at Lycosura,[62] and the rim of the sole of a sandal,[63] from the same group, both of which are decorated with reliefs including dolphins of the Elaborate Curvilinear Type, the idea being to represent the embroidered patterns of garments, rather than any particular symbolism. This use of the dolphin as a motif in embroidery from the early Fifth[64] to the Second Century B.C.,[65] indicates that it was not uncommon, although the examples which happen to have come down to us are upon the garments of divinities. It is more probable that the dolphin was one of the stock patterns which the women of Athens stitched upon their more elaborate garments, than that it was reserved for hieratic vestments, and this, once more, simply because of the decorative value of the animal, and not for symbolic purposes.

[59] *Br. Mus. Cat. Vases*, III, 137, No. E 140.

[60] Beazley, *Vasenmaler*, 211, No. 2.

[61] *Compte-rendu*, 1864, pp. 216–217.

[62] Dickins, *Damophon of Messene*, II, *B.S.A.* XIII, 374, fig. 15, and Pl. XIV.

[63] Dickins, *The Sandal in the Palazzo dei Conservatori*, *J.H.S.* XXXI, 1911, 309, fig. 1.

[64] Langlotz, *Zur Zeitbestimmung der strengrotfigurigen Vasenmalerei und der gleichzeitigen Plastik*, Leipzig, 1920. Table facing p. 116.

[65] Thallon, *The Date of Damophon*, *A.J.A.* X, 1906, 302–328, *passim*.

The Menon-Painter. The effective pinax in Boston[66] representing Thetis or a Nereid with dolphins has already been discussed.[67]

Oltus. A cylix in Palermo[68] has on the interior Eros on a dolphin.

Pamphaeus. A Nicosthenic amphora in the Louvre[69] is signed by the potter Pamphaeus, and attributed to the painter Oltus.[70] On either side of the neck runs a Nereid holding in each hand, head downward, a dolphin of the Simple Curvilinear Type.

Unsigned Vases which are not Attributed

The great majority of the signed and attributed vases discussed above have the scene laid at the bottom of the sea, the stock personages being Poseidon, Amphitrite, Peleus and Thetis wrestling, the Nereids, or sea-monsters. It is the same with the unsigned vases. There is a great similarity in the dolphins, little creatures that a Nereid can grasp around the small, and that she holds stiffly head up or head down. There are two instances of the dolphin carried in the hand on Black-Figured vases.[71] This marine subject in general was very popular with the vase painters of the earlier part of the Fifth Century, a fact which leads one to conjecture that some great fresco with a scene of the Wrestling of Peleus and Thetis, or perhaps a series of scenes including the marriage of the Nereid and her earthly lover, had been painted in Athens before the destruction of the Acropolis by the Persians, and had set the fashion in vase painting during the immediately succeeding period.

An interesting variant of the theme is found on a Red-Figured crater in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris[72] where Poseidon's feet rest upon a stool ornamented with a border of six little dolphins plunging downwards.

A late Red-Figured cylix[73] has on the interior a Tritoness and a dolphin of the Simple Curvilinear Type, but with the curvature reversed, and with the flukes of the tail set correctly, that is, shown in perspective.

[66] Museum of Fine Arts, No. 00.335. Attributed to Euthymides, Hoppin, *Attic R.-F. Vases*, I, 440, No. 8. Attributed to Menon, Beazley, *Attic R.-F. Vases*, 6.

[67] *Cf.* pp. 10–11, *supra.*

[68] Pollak, *Zwei Vasen aus der Werkstatt Hierons*, Leipzig, 1900; Hoppin, *Attic R.-F. Vases*, II, 259, No. 35.

[69] Pottier, *Vases antiques du Louvre, Salles* E-G, G 3; Hoppin, *Attic R.-F. Vases*, II, 302, No. 17.

[70] Beazley, *Vasenmaler*, 10, No. 1.

[71] *Cf.* Berlin, *Antiquarium*, II, 2003, and Graef, *Akropolisvasen*, II, Pl. 69, fig. 1209 d.

[72] *Cat. Bibl. Nat.* II, 309, No. 418.

[73] Tillyard, *The Hope Vases*, Cambridge, 1923, Pl. 27, No. 172.

Some of the signed Red-Figured vases with dolphins as shield devices have already been taken up. There remain two in which the dolphin is combined with an unusual design. Of these a bell crater in the archaic Red-Figured style in the Louvre[74] represents warriors putting on their armor. One of them carries a shield with a striking device of a dolphin and rider, the dolphin being a variant of the Simple Curvilinear Type. The second example is a Red-Figured crater of the Late Fine Style in the British Museum,[75] on which Ares is represented wearing a helmet with a little dolphin of the Simple Curvilinear Type, though with a thick head, on (either) side of the crown.

There are numerous well-known vases in which the dolphin symbolizes the sea. One of the earliest is a Red-Figured lecythus in the Louvre which Pottier dates from the end of the Sixth or beginning of the Fifth Century.[76] It represents a woman swimming above two plunging dolphins of the Thick-Headed Type, with the tail portion quite attenuated and the lower fluke docked.

The "Talos" vase,[77] a Red-Figured volute crater of the Late Fine Style, has a dolphin to represent the sea. It is of the Simple Curvilinear Type, with the flukes drawn in correct perspective.

An oenochoe of the Late Fine Style in Berlin[78] represents Aphrodite on a swan with two Nereids on either side of her, who ride dolphins of the Simple Curvilinear Type, with the flukes correctly drawn, and set off from the body by a ring, rather than by a ball. Two Erotes fly in the air on either side of the goddess.

The hydria from Kertch representing the Contest of Athena and Poseidon[79] shows two dolphins of the Simple Curvilinear Type, with the flukes in correct perspective, plunging on either side of the god's left foot. They do not represent the sea, but perhaps the salt spring which Poseidon bestowed upon the land of Attica, or are simply his emblem.

[74] Pottier, *Vases antiques du Louvre, Salles* E-G, G 47. Pottier suggests it may be Taras or Melicertes. For the illustration, *cf.* Morin-Jean, *op. cit.* p. 196, fig. 230, No. 4. Chase, *op. cit.* p. 104, No. XCVIII(?).

[75] *Br. Mus. Cat. Vases*, III, 286, E 467. Illustration in *J.H.S.* XI, 1890, Pl. XI.

[76] *Vases antiques du Louvre, Salles* E-G, No. F 197.

[77] Furtwaengler-Reichhold, Pls. 38 and 39.

[78] Berlin, *Antiquarium*, II. No. 2660. Illustration in *Jahrb. Arch. Inst.* I. 1886, Pl. XI.

[79] Hoeber, *Griechische Vasen*, Munich und Leipzig, 1909, Pl. 70. Hoeber describes this as a vase of Xenophantus the Athenian. Hoppin, *Attic R.-F. Vases*, II, 474, states that only one vase with the signature of this potter is preserved, and it is a lecythus.

Two Red-Figured vases of the Late Fine Style in Berlin have representations of a boy riding a dolphin. On the first, a lecythus,[80] a boy rides over the waves holding out his arms as if to keep his balance. The second, a hydria, represents the Judgment of Paris.[81] Between the latter and the figure of Hermes a boy rides a dolphin over waves.

A Red-Figured hydria of the Late Fine Style in Berlin[82] has a band around the neck with little pendants which Furtwaengler suggests may be dolphins.

A crater of the same style also in Berlin[83] has a band of little amulets which include a dolphin.

White Athenian Lecythus

A lecythus in Athens with the design in black upon a background of white slip, which the publisher dates as far back as the Sixth Century B. C., is the only vase of this type on which a representation of dolphins[84] is found. In the centre of the field Odysseus stands lashed to the mast. On either side of him a Siren is perched upon a rock. The sea below is indicated by lines of the brush, and by two dolphins with black bodies, the details outlined in red, and with a white line or streak from the tip of the beak to the root of the tail, plunging downwards on either side of the hero. They belong to the Thick-Headed Type.

NON-ATTIC VASES

The non-Attic vases follow practically the same development in the representation of the dolphins as do the Attic vases.

So-Called Proto-Corinthian Ware

The dolphin appears to be very rare in Proto-Corinthian ware. On a lecythus of the Geometric class in Munich[85] there occur, however, three dolphins of the Pisciform Type.

Corinthian Ware

There are numerous examples of the Thick-Headed Type and Simple Curvilinear Type of dolphin in Corinthian ware. Two of these

[80] Berlin, *Antiquarium*, II, No. 2439. No illustration.

[81] *Ibid.* II, No. 2633. No illustration.

[82] *Ibid.* II, No. 2864.

[83] *Ibid.* II, No. 2866.

[84] Sellers, *Three Attic Lekythoi from Eretria*, *J.H.S.* XIII, 1892–93, 2–6, Pl. I.

[85] Sieveking und Hackl, *Die koenigliche Vasensammlung zu Muenchen*, I, 77, No. 651.

have already been discussed,[86] and may suffice for this class. There remain, however, the Corinthian pinaces, many of which have scenes of Poseidon, Poseidon and Amphitrite[87], and of Melicertes riding on the dolphin.[88]

Rhodian Ware

The only two examples of dolphins in Rhodian ware were discussed in connection with the Pisciform Type of dolphin, above.[89]

Naucratite Ware

A fragment of Naucratite ware of the latest incised phase, in the Ashmolean Museum,[90] is decorated with a dolphin of the Simple Curvilinear Type.

"Delian" Ware

The well-known fragment of a pinax from Praesos is thought to be Delian ware.[91] Hopkinson[92] interprets the representation as Heracles wrestling with ἅλιος γέρων. Luce, on the other hand, sees in the picture a pisciform creature, of which only the tail portion remains, carrying a man upwards through the water, and interprets the picture as Theseus returning from the abode of Amphitrite on the back of a dolphin.[93] This is a more correct reading, as there is no evidence of a struggle between the man and the animal.

Polledrara Ware

A Polledrara hydria dating from the Seventh Century B. C.,[94] has among its other details a winged dolphin, of the Thick-Headed Type. The wings do not rise in a beautiful continuous line from the crown of the head as in the winged dolphins of Attic Black-Figured ware,[95] but are tacked on along the back, where they look very much like borrowed bird wings, out of place.

[86] *Cf.* pp. 12 ff.
[87] Berlin, *Antiquarium*, I, 787.
[88] *Ibid.* I, 779.
[89] *Cf.* pp. 13 ff.
[90] Price, *Pottery of Naucratis*, *J.H.S.* XLIV, 1924, 212–213, fig. 52.
[91] Hopkinson, *The Painted Pinax from Praesos*, *B.S.A.* X, 153, Pl. III.
[92] *Ibid.* 149–152, *passim.*
[93] Luce, *A. J. A.* XXVI, 1922, 190.
[94] Cecil Smith, *Polledrara Ware*, *J.H.S.* XIV, 1894, 214, Pl. VI, fig. 4.
[95] *Cf.* p. 98, *supra.*

Caeretan Hydriae

A Caeretan hydria in the Louvre[96] representing the Rape of Europa, has two very good dolphins of the Thick-Headed Type, one preceding and one following the Bull.

Cyrenaic Ware

A cylix in the Bibliothèque Nationale[97] represents the blinding of Polyphemus. The space is divided into the main part and an exergue filled by an ugly dolphin of the Pisciform Type, which should not be included in this paper, were it not for the double ring at the small which seems to identify it.

Boeotian Ware

The Late Boeotian Style is represented by an attractive plate[98] towards the center of which plunge six dolphins. They have a multiplicity of dorsal fins, but belong to the Simple Curvilinear Type.

Apulian Ware

After the Peloponnesian War, the export of Attic vases to Italy declined, and the potters of Magna Graecia were left to develop the South Italian vase painting along lines in which their own originality bloomed upon foundations of Attic tradition. The examples of dolphins in this class of vases are numerous. As the period is comparatively late, the type inclines to the Elaborate Curvilinear. An amphora in Berlin[99] depicts Europa on the Bull with a Nereid riding a pair of dolphins on one side, on the other a Nereid riding a sea-horse which plunges above a squid and a dolphin. In this vase we have the motif which is repeated upon countless Roman wall-paintings and mosaic floorings.

An oenochoe, also in Berlin,[100] is decorated with a figure of Scylla above two dolphins.

Campanian Ware

The ware of Campania, like the Apulian pottery, is a South Italian offshoot of Attic tradition. On the shoulder of a hydria in the Metropolitan Museum[101] a young and an old Triton are greeting each other.

[96] Reinach, *Rép. Vases*, I, 55, No. 3.
[97] *Cat. Bibl. Nat.* I, 101, No. 190.
[98] Morin-Jean, *op. cit.* p. 131, fig. 145.
[99] Berlin, *Antiquarium*, II, No. 3241.
[100] *Ibid.* II, No. 3592.
[101] G.R. 998.

Between the pair plunges a dolphin of the Elaborate Curvilinear Type, and a similar animal plunges downward among the convolutions of each Triton's tail.

Cabiric Ware

The Black-Figured ware from the Cabirion near Thebes includes among its coarse and grotesque designs dolphins of the Pisciform Type.[102]

Vases Representing Scenes from the Phlyaces

The dolphin-rider is cartooned upon one of these vases from Southern Italy,[103] which is now lost.[104] There is little doubt that a dolphin is intended, though the animal would undoubtedly be called a fish, were it without a rider.

Lagyni

The lagynus is a special type of Hellenistic vase, the earliest dating from the second half of the Fourth Century B. C.,[105] though the majority date from the end of the Third century.[106] The decoration of these vases is highly conventionalized, one of the stock patterns being the dolphin of the Elaborate Curvilinear Type, in its worst aspect. On an example from Priene[107] the dolphins hold curly ribbons in their mouths, apparently to balance the undulations of their tail portions.

Although the majority of these vases are painted, some are decorated in relief, as the lagynus in Berlin[108] which has among the patterns stamped on the shoulder, Eros riding a dolphin.

Hadra Vases

The Hadra burial hydriae from Alexandria are commonly decorated with dolphins of the Elaborate Curvilinear Type. The reason is easy to find in the use of the dolphin as a stock decoration for burial receptacles. A good example is to be seen in the Metropolitan Museum.[109]

[102] Gardner, *Greek Vases in the Ashmolean Museum*, Oxford, 1893, Pl. 26, No. 262.
[103] Reinach, *Rép. Vases*, II, 332, 5.
[104] *Jahrb. Arch. Inst.* I, 1886, 307.
[105] Leroux, *Lagynos*, Paris, 1913.
[106] *Ibid.* p. 101.
[107] *Ibid.* p. 49, No. 92.
[108] *Ibid.* p. 69. No illustration.
[109] G.R. 715.

Plastic and Relief Ware

A very attractive little ornament is a plastic lecythus in the form of a dolphin springing through the waves, which dates from the Fourth Century B. C.[110] The dolphin and the waves are in black glaze. The pour is the blow-hole which is placed between the eyes. The vase is signed on the bottom ΔΑΣΤΑΣ HMI. It is ascribed to a Dorian colony of Southern Italy.

Hellenistic Relief Vases

The use of dolphins of the Elaborate Curvilinear Type on Hellenistic vases decorated with reliefs is fairly common. A good example is found on a vase in the Metropolitan Museum,[111] of which the handles consist of a male figure, standing upon the shoulder and joined to the rim by a flat bridge. At the point of juncture an Eros rides a dolphin, sitting so as to look away from the vase, and shading his eyes with his little hand. The motif is pretty, the execution crude, the whole an example of over elaboration in bad taste.

Cylices Stamped with the Syracusan "Medallions"

A number of South Italian cylices in black glaze have in the center a relief stamped from Evaenetus' famous Syracusan medallion of Persephone or Arethusa surrounded by dolphins. It is shrinkage of the fabric in firing which makes the design of the vase resemble the much smaller tetradrachms, as Sir Arthur Evans has pointed out.[112] A good example is found in Vienna.[113]

Megarian Bowls

The black glazed Megarian bowls frequently include dolphins of the Elaborate Curvilinear Type among their pretty decorative motifs.[114]

Arretine Ware

The beautiful coral-colored Arretine ware is occasionally ornamented with dolphins. A mould with the signature of M. Perennius Tigranes in the Metropolitan Museum[115] has a scene of Nereids riding

[110] *Arch. Anz.* 1925, pp. 139–140, No. 82, figs. 33, 34.

[111] G.R. 1013.

[112] Evans, *Syracusan "Medallions" and their Engravers in the Light of Recent Finds*, London, 1892, 113–114.

[113] Masner, *Wienersammlung*, No. 555.

[114] *Cf.* Watzinger, *Vasenfunde aus Athen*, *Ath. Mitt.* XXVI, 1901, 59, No. 12.

[115] Room VIII, Case N.

hippocamps, with dolphins of the Elaborate Curvilinear Type about them.

A fragment of an Arretine crater stamped Cornel[i] and decorated upon the lip with two dolphins with intertwined tails, is in the British Museum.[116] The animals are of the Elaborate Curvilinear Type.

Terra Sigillata Ware

The most debased forms of dolphins of the Elaborate Curvilinear Type occur on Gallo-Roman and Germano-Roman vases ornamented in relief designs. The examples are frequent and include Arvernian ware,[117] Rutenian ware,[118] South Gallic ware from Roman Gaul.[119] Déchelette gives a table[120] illustrating the variations in tortuosity which the dolphin of the Elaborate Curvilinear Type has undergone at the hands of barbarian artists who produced the Terra-Sigillata ware.

The Dolphin as a Trade-Mark on Vases

Robinson has published inscriptions on the handles of vases from Sinope, which in two instances are accompanied by the representation of a dolphin grasped in the claws of an eagle.[121] The design is one of the coin types of Sinope, and may, therefore be regarded as a sort of trade-mark used in the exportation of vases. This is confirmed by the discovery of the coin type of Sinope on an amphora handle from Kertch.[122]

The Dolphin in Plastic Art

The examples of the dolphin in sculpture and in the art of the coroplast are even more numerous than those in vase-painting as they include the use of the animal in the ornamentation of objects as diverse as the spina of the Circus Maximus in Rome and an ordinary terracotta lamp.

Sculpture in the Round

Before taking up the extant remains of statues and groups which include dolphins, it seems best to dispose of some of the literary references to works which have not come down to us.

[116] Walters, *Catalogue of the Roman Pottery in the British Museum*, p. 42, L 160, fig. 34.

[117] *Br. Mus. Rom. Pottery*, 56, M 52.

[118] *Ibid.* p. 145, M 549 (Déchelette 1049).

[119] Déchelette, *Les Vases céramiques ornés de la Gaule Romaine*, I, Pl. V, No. 71.

[120] *Ibid.* II, 150–151.

[121] *Ancient Sinope*, 294–295, and 298.

[122] *Ibid.* p. 295.

Arion and the Dolphin at Taenarum

This group which commemorated the rescue of Arion, or which was, as has been shown in the preceding chapter, a cult statue to which the Arion story was subsequently attached, is mentioned by the following writers:

Greek

Aelian, *Nat. An.* XII, 45.
Dio Chrysostom, *Oratio* XXXVII, 4. Bronze.
Herodotus, I, 24, 8. A small bronze group.
Nicolaus the Sophist, *Progymnasmata*, II, 7. Bronze.
Pausanias, III, 25, 5. Bronze.

Latin

Fronto, ed. Niebuhr, p. 264.
Gellius, *Noctes Atticae*, XVI, 19, 23. Bronze.
Hyginus, *Astronomica*, II, 17.

Statue of Arion and the Dolphin on Mt. Helicon

Pausanias, IX, 30, 2. Description of a statue of Arion and the dolphin in the sanctuary of the Muses on Mt. Helicon.

Melicertes on the Dolphin

Pausanias, II, 1, 8. Description of the images dedicated by Herodes Atticus in the temple at the Isthmus, which include Palaemon standing on the dolphin.

Philostratus, *Lives of the Sophists*, ed. Kayser, Leipzig, 1871, II, 5, 237. Reference to the above group.

Phalanthus or Taras

Pausanias, X, 13, 10. Dedicatory offering of the Tarentines at Delphi.

Boy and Dolphin at Iasus

Aelian, *Nat. An.* VI, 15.

Demeter Melaina at Phigaleia

Pausanias, VIII, 42; 4, 7, 12-13. Wooden xoanon of Demeter with a dove on one hand, a dolphin on the other. This image was replaced by one in bronze by Onatas, which had been destroyed in Pausanias' time.

Sculptures of Scopas in the Circus Flaminius

Pliny, *N. H.* XXXVI, 26. Neptune, Thetis and Achilles, Nereids sitting on dolphins, sea monsters or hippocamps. Although this group no longer exists, the numerous examples of Nereids mounted on dolphins which are to be seen in museums to-day, testify to its popularity in antiquity.

We now come to the remains of sculpture in the round. In the "Carrey" drawings of the West Gable of the Parthenon, a dolphin is seen below the feet of a female figure, the so-called Amphitrite.[123] This group is directly behind Poseidon, and Gardner very aptly suggests that the dolphin symbolizes his salt-spring.[124]

The ingenious restoration of the pedimental sculptures of the so-called Theseum by Sauer,[125] includes a dolphin in the southern angle of the East Pediment. Sauer bases his reconstruction on the evidence of scars in the floor of the pediment, and states that this dolphin must have been placed in a manner similar to the dolphin of Phalanthus in the dedicatory offering of the Tarentines at Delphi, which was the work of Onatas.

Among the attributes of the Nereids on the Nereid Monument are several badly mutilated sea-monsters or animals, in one of which it is possible to see the shape of a dolphin.[126]

The above examples of Fifth Century sculpture in the round offer only conjectural dolphins, but they afford a commentary upon the good taste of the artists of that period, during which restraint in the use of accessory material or ornamentation was one of the elements which contributed to the simple grandeur of works of art. This moderation in the matter of using dolphins evidently persisted into the Fourth Century, though at the end of that period there were to be invented two types which have to this day flooded the world with imitations—the Poseidon of Lysippus, and the original of the Medicean Venus.

As we have already seen, it was the tradition to portray Poseidon in art with a dolphin as his symbol.[127] Coins and vases indicate that the accepted type was a figure of the god with a small dolphin resting upon, or grasped in, his hand. It is thought that in creating the cult

[123] Collignon, *Le Parthénon, Plates*, No. 54.

[124] *Handbook of Greek Sculpture*, London, 1897, 277.

[125] *Das sogenannte Theseion*, Leipzig, 1899, 41–42, and note 1, Pl. II.

[126] Smith, *British Museum Catalogue of Sculpture*, London, 1900, II, No. 910; Roscher, *Lexikon*, III, 230.

[127] *Cf.* Hyginus, *Astronomica*, II, 17, and Pseudo-Eratosthenes, *Catasterismi*, 31.

statue for the Isthmian Sanctuary of Poseidon, Lysippus invented the type of the god standing with one foot resting upon the back of a dolphin, and the corresponding forearm leaning upon the thigh which has been raised to a horizontal position.[128] Good examples are the statuette from Eleusis and the statue in the Lateran, where the motif is varied by placing the god's foot upon a ship's prow, while a dolphin of the Elaborate Curvilinear Type rests upon its head and elevates its tail in the air behind the god.[129]

Although the type of Poseidon which we are accustomed to call Lysippean is common enough, it is rare beside the examples of the Aphrodite Anadyomene which served as a prototype for the Medicean Venus and hundreds of others like this famous work. Bernoulli[130] would date the Medicean Venus in the Second Century B. C., but adds that the invention of the type is earlier.[131] He further states that as Eros on the dolphin does not occur before the Third Century B. C. the Medicean type cannot be attributed to Cephisodotus the son of Praxiteles, and that the dolphin was not used as a symbol of water in statues of Venus before the Alexandrian period.[132]

In the statues of the type of the Medicean Venus, the dolphin is used to replace the tree-trunk ordinarily used as a statue prop. The origin of this motif is probably due to an inventive sculptor—possibly he who produced the prototype of the Medicean Venus—who in order to adapt to perpendicular lines a creature Nature had made horizontal, stood the animal upon its beak, which he bent up and flattened out to construct a proper basis. He then took as much liberty with the curves of the animal's body and the structure of its tail as he had already done with the beak, adjusting them to the requirements of the human form which was to be braced against this work of transmogrification. When the sculptor had thus made Nature yield to art, he was doubtless gratified with the result, but we can hardly assume that he ever dreamed of having launched upon the world a convention which is so familiar to-day that it is still unquestioned, an example of bad art that is in general as well received by our own generation, as it

[128] Roscher, *Lexikon*, III, 2, p. 2888.

[129] *Ibid.* p. 2889, fig. 18, Lateran statue; p. 2890, fig. 19, Eleusis statue.

[130] *Aphrodite, ein Baustein zur griechischen Kunstmythologie*, Leipzig, 1873, 226.

[131] *Loc. cit.*

[132] *Ibid.* Bernoulli is undoubtedly correct in regard to the dating of the representation of Eros on the dolphin in sculpture. The type occurs, however, on a coin of Ambracia (*Br. Mus. Cat. Coins*, Corinth, Pl. XXVIII, 10) which Usener, *Sintfluthsagen*, 142, dates in the Fourth Century, but which Dr. E. T. Newell says is unquestionably a Fifth Century coin. It is also found on a cylix by Oltus in Palermo, *v. supra.*

doubtless was acclaimed by the best artistic cliques in Hellenistic times.

In the selection of the dolphin for a statue prop, the inventor of the convention was undoubtedly going back to the traditions which made the sea-animal the symbol of the goddess, especially in her aspect of Anadyomene. Bernoulli assumes this, but adds that the dolphin is also used as a symbol because of its aphrodisian significance, to emphasize which it is often ridden by an Eros.[133] The origin of the Eros-rider has already been discussed.[134] It is of interest, however, to quote at this point the words of Aulus Gellius, *Delphinos venereos esse et amasios non modo historiae veteres sed recentes quoque memoriae declarant*,[135] which Bernoulli uses to support his theory that the dolphin is the aphrodisian symbol of Venus. As they were written, however, about two hundred and fifty years after the prototype of the Medicean Venus had, we may assume, been invented, a period of time during which a veritable army of imitations must have grown up, it is difficult to judge whether the words of Aulus Gellius were inspired by hearsay, or by an accustomed sight. At any rate, Bernoulli has lifted them forcibly out of context. They head the chapter "*Super amatore delphino et puero amato*," and support the theory of the aphrodisian symbol only by courtesy of the intervening link, Eros the dolphin-rider.

In Bernoulli's great work on Aphrodite there is a very comprehensive list of the numerous examples of the Medicean and other types, such as the Crouching Venus, all of which are carefully classified so as to render them very accessible. It is useless, therefore, to list examples here, other than one of the most recent archaeological finds, which post-dates the publication of *Aphrodite*, namely the so-called Cyrene Venus in Rome.[136] The dolphin in this statue is placed against a background of a water-jar over which a robe is flung, a motif borrowed from the type of the Capitoline Venus. In many other instances the dolphin does not stand alone, but against a background usually supplied by a tree trunk.[137]

Two examples of artistic fantasy follow. The first is the extraordinary group in Naples,[138] a feat of sculpture in which a dolphin

[133] *Aphrodite*, 246.

[134] Pp. 83–84, *supra*.

[135] *Noctes Atticae*, VII, 8.

[136] Winter, *Kunstgeschichte in Bildern*, Leipzig, *Heft* 11–12, *Hellenistische Skulptur*, 380, No. 6.

[137] *Cf.* the Medicean Venus, Winter, *ibid.* No. 5.

[138] Reinach, *Répertoire de la Statuaire grecque et romaine*, I, p. 355, Pl. 646, Naples, No. 428.

has been wound about the body of the boy-Eros, and made to stand upon its own lower jaw as it elevates its tail—and Eros—into the air. The other is the more pleasing group of a satyr riding on a dolphin, published by Amelung.[139]

Statues of great Romans in which the dolphin appears are also found. Agrippa, who is said to have originated the use of the dolphin on the *spina*,[140] is represented in a statue with a dolphin-prop.[141] The well-known statue of Augustus from Primaporta has a similar motif, with an Eros-rider in addition. Titus, in a statue, wears a cuirass ornamented with Nereids, Tritons, and dolphins.[142]

A search for dolphins in connection with Mithras reveals a statue of the god with a dolphin prop.[143]

RELIEFS AND MISCELLANEOUS EXAMPLES

Here, as in the case of sculpture in the round, we begin with suggested restorations. Brueckner, in discussing the pedimental sculptures from the Hecatompedon, would restore the Triton, or ἅλιος γέρων, with a dolphin in his hand.[144]

The frieze of the architrave of the Doric temple at Assos also represents the Combat of Heracles and ἅλιος γέρων. It is possible to discern a curved object in the Old Man's left hand. This may be a dolphin.[145]

The metope from one of the temples at Selinus[146] with the relief representing the Rape of Europa has two dolphins, one in front of the other, beneath the Bull's hoofs to represent the sea. These are of the Pisciform Type, as might be expected in such early work, but they tend to have a concave ventral outline, which, combined with their flukes, makes identification certain.

The shield device of the dolphin-rider appears on a fragment of a metope from the east side of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia.[147]

[139] *Satyrs Ritt durch die Wellen*, in *Strena Helbigiana*, Leipzig, 1900.

[140] *Cf.* Cassius Dio, XLIX, 43; also LV, 32, where Agrippa is said to have been so fond of fishing that he even called himself Poseidon.

[141] Mueller-Wieseler, *Denkmaeler der alten Kunst*, Goettingen, 1854, I, Pl. LXVI, No. 353.

[142] Hekler, *Beitraege zur Geschichte der antiken Panzerstatuen*, *Jahreshefte*, XIX–XX, 1919, 218, fig. 145.

[143] Paris, *Restes du Culte de Mithra en Espagne*, *R.A.* XXIII–XXIV, 1914, 5, fig. 2.

[144] *Porosskulpturen auf der Akropolis*, *Ath. Mitt.* XV, 1890, 103.

[145] Winter, *op. cit. Heft* 7, 204, No. 5.

[146] *Ibid.* p. 199, No. 2.

[147] *Die Ausgrabungen von Olympia*, *Berichte*, in *Archaeologische Zeitung*, 1877, 29.

From Olympia also comes a terracotta dolphin which probably served as an acroterion.[148]

The Choregic Monument of Lysicrates in Athens is very interesting in that it illustrates the metamorphosis of the Tyrrhenian Pirates, in process rather than after its completion, for the frieze does not exhibit a single fully transformed man. It contains instead three examples of dolphins' heads with human feet attached,[149] which should not be classified among the rarely found monstrous combinations, as the completion of the transformation is too easily imagined.

The motif of a dolphin which symbolizes water, and yet is represented together with waves beneath which it is partly submerged, is very common upon Roman sarcophagi. It is possible that this convention may have started with such a dolphin on the Telephus Frieze at Pergamum,[150] as there seem to be no similar examples antedating it.

A terracotta antefix from Caulonia[151] is ornamented with a dolphin of the Simple Curvilinear Type, with the incised line following the ventral outline and the flukes of the tail set correctly. The flippers and back-fin are pennate, and the beak, of which the tip is broken off, appears to be *σιμός*. The dolphin is ridden by an ephebe who carries a round shield upon his left arm, and rests his right arm upon his right knee, which is drawn up. The composition combines the attitude of the rider on the Fifth Century coin of Ambracia,[152] and the correct setting of the dolphin's tail found on the Syracusan decadrachms, which were struck after the battle of Himera in 479 B.C. The workmanship and details of both dolphin and rider hardly suggest the archaic period, as the term is usually accepted. It seems as though a work of such minor importance artistically as a terracotta revetment could not have arisen until its great prototypes, the Syracusan decadrachms, had been sufficiently long in circulation to make their design a part of the material of artisans. We may, therefore agree with Mrs. Van Buren in placing this particular revetment in the Fifth Century, with the qualification that it is after 450 B.C. at the earliest.

[148] *Ausgrabungen aus Olympia*, IV, Pl. 27.

[149] De Cou, *The Frieze of the Choragic Monument of Lysicrates at Athens*, *A.J.A.* VIII, 1893, First Series, Pls. II–III.

[150] Behn, *Die Schiffe des Telephosfrieses*, *Jahrb. Arch. Inst.* XXII, 1907, 243.

[151] Van Buren, *Archaic Fictile Revetments in Sicily and Magna Graecia*, London, 1923, 149 (No. 55), Pl. XVI, fig. 68.

[152] *Br. Mus. Cat. Coins, Corinth*, Pl. XXVIII, No. 10.

The small bridal altars from Tarentum, also of terracotta, were frequently decorated with dolphins.[153]

Throughout Greek art of the finest period there has been no example of a fountain in which the dolphin serves as a decoration or as a spout. The convention of the lion's head spout seems to have persisted into Hellenistic times. Pausanias does, however, mention a fountain at Corinth, which is near a temple of Fortune and a sanctuary of all the gods. It is ornamented by a Poseidon-statue in bronze, with a dolphin spouting water, beneath the god's feet.[154] The motif may be an adaptation of the Lysippean Poseidon, and the presence nearby of the temple to Fortune and a sanctuary to all the gods, in which we may recognize the pantheistic worship brought over from the East after the campaigns of Alexander, indicate strongly that this fountain is a late Greek or Graeco-Roman piece. Fountains with dolphin decoration became very common in Roman art. The fact that the dolphin was the symbol of undrinkable salt water was no doubt the prime reason why the Greeks did not use it in their fountain decorations. Its common use to-day in that capacity is a direct inheritance from Roman, not from Greek art, at least not from that of the best periods, and is one of the conventions which, like the dolphin statue prop, is accepted without any feeling that it is inappropriate.

The dolphin in Pantheism has already been discussed,[155] so that it is sufficient to enumerate a few examples here. In this connection the specialized form of the statues of Aphrodite from Aphrodisias in Caria may be mentioned. These images which show the goddess draped in a gown carved in imitation of heavily embroidered bands, some of which are decorated with Nereids, Tritons, and dolphins of the Elaborate Curvilinear Type,[156] cannot date earlier than the Third Century B.C.[157] The grouping of the symbols of the several aspects of the goddess into the one statue makes of her a cosmic Aphrodite,[158] which leans strongly to the pantheistic conception.

A convenient collection of illustrations of objects decorated with pantheistic symbols, including the dolphin, is found in the aforemen-

[153] *Arch. Anz.* 1916, 115.

[154] Pausanias, II, 2, 7.

[155] P. 86, *supra.*

[156] Fredrich, *Die Aphrodite von Aphrodisias in Karien, Ath. Mitt.* XXII, 1897, 361–380, Pls. XI, XII.

[157] *Ibid.* p. 371.

[158] *Ibid.* p. 377.

tioned article by Weisshaeupl.[159] They include a bronze symplegma,[160] a bronze statuette of Venus leaning upon a similar symplegma,[161] a terracotta fragment with two dolphins twined around a rudder,[162] and a very fine Roman terracotta lamp.[163]

The dolphin was frequently used in Rome as an architectural decoration or member. One of the most beautiful examples is the combination of dolphins, cockle-shells, and tridents on the Corinthian friezes of the Baths of Agrippa.[164] There is also a capital in the Villa of Hadrian at Tivoli, where dolphins of the Elaborate Curvilinear Type are worked in with the volutes of the Corinthian order.[165] The decorative carving of pilasters with scroll and leaf, which is one of the most pleasing of the contributions of the Romans to art, may also make use of dolphins, as can be seen in a very pretty example from the Augustan period.[166] These dolphins are exceedingly serpentine and terminate in leaves and tendrils.

Sepulchral reliefs have been touched upon already from the point of view of symbolism.[167] The examples in which Nereids and dolphins, or dolphins alone, play a part in the decoration are exceedingly common, and none of these will be selected for special discussion here. Suffice it to say that as the design was more and more used, it became a stock pattern, so that the symbolism must have receded behind customary usage and mechanical execution, and eventually have been forgotten.

There is one class of sarcophagi which cannot, however, go unnoticed. These are decorated with reliefs representing a scene in the Roman Circus, with a chariot-race in progress, in which the charioteers are Cupids.[168] The dolphins of the spina are almost always visible among the other details.

On either end of the spina in Roman circuses stood a scaffold upon which seven dolphins were balanced. As each lap of the race was run, a dolphin was turned down in order that the audience might keep score. Cassius Dio (*v. supra*) states that Agrippa originated this

[159] *Oesterr. Jahresh.* XIII, 1909, 176–199, *passim.*
[160] *Ibid.* p. 193, fig. 108.
[161] *Ibid.* p. 194, fig. 109.
[162] *Ibid.* p. 184, fig. 101.
[163] *Ibid.* p. 183, fig. 100.
[164] Toebelmann, *Roemische Gebaelke*, Heidelberg, 1923, 70, fig. 58.
[165] *Not. Scav.* 1922, 237, figs. 3 and 4.
[166] Strong, *The Cook Collection*, *J.H.S.* XXVIII, 1908, 25, fig. 5.
[167] Pp. 81–82, *supra.*
[168] Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*, Cambridge, 1882, 494, No. 46.

custom together with the use of the ova. Pollak,[169] however, argues that it was probably in existence before Agrippa's time, as Livy (XLI, 27) mentions ova in the year 174 B.C. Pollak thinks that the phrase *delphinisque* followed immediately upon Livy's statement in regard to the ova, and has simply dropped out of the manuscripts.

Archaeological evidence in the form of sculptured reliefs, especially those upon the above mentioned sarcophagi, has combined with literary evidence to prove this fact, while statements in literature in regard to dolphins in the euripus of the circus may be regarded with scepticism, if the nature and size of dolphins are taken into account.

The literary references to dolphins in the circuses follow:

Cassiodorus, *Variae*, III, 51, 8. Dolphins on the spina spout water into the euripus.[170]

Cassius Dio, *Historia Romana*, ed. Dindorf, Leipzig, 1863, XLIX, 43. Agrippa introduced the dolphins and the ova to help the audience keep track of the laps in chariot-races.

Juvenal, *Satires*, ed. Housman, London, 1905, VI, 590, Dolphins upon the columns of the spina.

Tertullian, *De Spectaculis*, ed. Klussmann, Rudolphstadt, 1876, Sec. 8. Describing the objects in the circus which refer to the pagan gods, Tertullian writes, *delphines Neptuno vomunt*. Keller[171] takes this to mean that the dolphins spray water into the arena of the circus, as Cassiodorus appears to make them spout into the euripus. Both descriptions are fantastic, if the true function of the dolphin as a score marker is recalled. It seems best to attribute the inaccuracy to the rhetorical figures of very late writing.

Just as there were dolphins in the Roman circuses, so we know of a bronze dolphin which was used as a starter for the races in the hippodrome at Olympia.[172] This was a mechanical device balanced by a bronze eagle. When the race was to begin a spring was touched which caused the eagle to rise and the dolphin to glide downwards. The literary reference is:

Pausanias, VI, 20, 11-13.

The dolphin was used in many ways in the homes of Greece and

[169] Pauly-Wissowa, IV, p. 2510.

[170] This sentence makes sense only by substituting *infundunt* for *influunt*, according to Meyer's conjecture. *Cf.* foot of p. 106, Mommsen's ed.

[171] *Op. cit.* p. 233, note 263.

[172] E. Norman Gardiner; *Olympia, its History and Remains*, Oxford, 1925, 287–288, fig. 124.

Rome. We see it elevating its tail in the air as the handle of a lid of a bronze jug in the Metropolitan Museum,[173] it is stamped upon terracotta weaving weights from Tarentum,[174] and is the decoration of many little terracotta lamps, and of a number of Etruscan bronze mirrors. It is also found on pieces of furniture carved from marble. The Scholion to Lucian, *Lexiphanes*, 7,[175] mentions a dolphin used as a table leg, and such an one actually has been found at Pergamum.[176] It is an exceedingly common design in mosaic floorings as in the House of the Dolphins, at Delos.

Coins

Literary mention of coins with the dolphin-rider type is found in the following:

Aelian, *Nat. An.* VI, 15. Coins of silver and bronze are struck at Iasus in memory of the Boy and Dolphin.

Aristotle, *Fragmenta*, ed. Rose, Leipzig, 1886, No. 590. Coins of Tarentum with the type of "Taras the son of Poseidon" carried by a dolphin.

Plutarch, *De Sol. An.* XXXVI. Coins of Iasus.

Pollux, *Onomasticon*, IX, 80. The fragment of Aristotle, quoted above. IX, 84. Coin type of Iasus.

It is impossible to give any adequate treatment to the coins on which the dolphin appears, as this would require a thesis in itself, so numerous are they. The most important ones have already been mentioned, including the great Syracusan series with the head of Persephone, Cyane or Arethusa.[177] Throughout this series there is less change to be seen in the dolphin type, which is the most beautiful example of the dolphin in nature expressed in terms of art, than in the great series of the dolphin-rider coins of Tarentum, where the dolphin becomes more and more curvilinear as time goes on.

Usener has given a list of cities which have the dolphin-rider as a coin-type[178] They include Eros on coins of Anchialus, Deultum, Hadrianopolis, Perinthus, Nicomedia, Lampsacus, Ambracia, Posidonia; the rider without wings on coins of Cyzicus, Iasus, Corinth and

[173] In the Roman Garden, Case K, G.R. 173.

[174] *Arch. Anz.* 1916, 113–114, fig. 4.

[175] *Scholia in Lucianum*, ed. Rabe, Leipzig, 1906.

[176] Hepding, *Die Arbeiten zu Pergamon*, 1904–1905, *Ath. Mitt.* XXXII, 1907, 400, fig. 12.

[177] *Cf.* Evans, *Syracusan "Medallions," passim.*

[178] *Sintfluthsagen*, 140–144.

the Isthmus, and Tarentum; the rider playing the lyre (Arion type) on coins of Methymna, Taenarum, Helicon, and Brentesion.

The numismatic usage of the dolphin may be outlined briefly and examples given. It is more rare as the principal design or type than in combination. Examples of coins with the dolphin type are found among those of Thera, Uncertain of Caria, and Zancle,[179] although the adjunct of the sickle representing the harbor in the coins of Zancle is important, since it provides the punning element in the design as a whole.

The dolphin is more commonly found as an integral part of the coin type, as is illustrated by the coins of Byzantium which have the cow and dolphin, coins of Sinope with the sea-eagle and dolphin, and the Syracusan series where the head of the nymph is encircled by four dolphins.[180]

It occurs as an adjunct in the field, technically known as a symbol,[181] in many examples, among them the coins of Messana with the type of the hare accompanied by the dolphin as symbol. It is also found as a magistrate's symbol, *cf.* the coin of Amphipolis.[182]

Finally, the dolphin is used on coins to convey a symbolical meaning, in the same way that it is employed in other fields of art. The examples of this phase of its usage will in many cases correspond to the usage of the dolphin as a type or symbol. Among instances where the dolphin symbolizes the sea is the coin of Zancle cited above, while the coins of Delphi and Poseidion in Carpathus[183] are instances of its occurrence as a mythological symbol.

Dolphins also occur upon the Aes Grave of Southern Italy[184] and on a lead mina from Athens.[185]

METAL WORK AND GEMS

The dolphin is commonly found upon articles of jewelry, metal work and gems. There is a literary reference to wrought silver dolphins, and several to dolphins cut in gems, as follows:

[179] Head, *Historia Numorum*, Ed. II, Oxford, 1911, pp. 493, 480, 152.

[180] *Ibid.* pp. 267, 508, 173.

[181] *Ibid.* p. 153.

[182] Macdonald, *Catalogue of Greek Coins in the Hunterian Collection*, Glasgow, 1899, Vol. I, 300, No. 48.

[183] Head, *op. cit.* pp. 340, 631.

[184] *Cf.* Sydenham, *Aes Grave, a Study of the Cast Coinages of Rome and Central Italy*, London, 1926, Pl. VII, No. 2; Pl. XIV, No. 3.

[185] *Cf. C.I.G.* IV, *Praefatio Editoris*, p. XVIII, for illustration.

Silver Dolphins

Pliny, *N.H.* XXIII, 147. Caius Gracchus possesses dolphins of silver purchased at five thousand sesterces per pound.

Gems

Alcimus Ecdicius Avitus, *Epistulae*, ed. Peiper, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, Berlin, 1883, No. 81, pp. 96 and 97. A ring set in dolphins' tails, which meet in the palm of the hand.

Marcellus, *De Medicamentis*, ed. Helmreich, Leipzig, 1889, XXIX, 23. Description of a ring engraved with a dolphin as a charm against the stomach-ache.

Ever since the days of the Cretan pictographs and seals the dolphin has been a favorite subject upon gems. We have followed it minutely through the Minoan and Helladic periods, and must now pass very quickly over the later examples. Most of these are Roman, though there is a very beautiful lentoid chalcedony in the Metropolitan Museum[186] with a cantharus between two slender dolphins, which is described as Greek, of the second half of the Fifth Century. Two interesting gems are found in the Boston Museum,[187] on one a lion devours a dolphin, on the other a Nereid is riding a hippocamp below which is a tiny dolphin. These are Greek, and of the Fourth Century.

The dolphin is often found in gold and paste jewelry. One of the commonest forms in which it occurs in the Graeco-Roman period is as a large earring to be hung head down from the lobe of the ear. The type is Elaborate Curvilinear in these examples, and the beak is necessarily much flattened.[188] Paste dolphins to be hung in rings as amulets also occur.[189] Some of the most charming objects in gold which have been preserved to us are the little reels of Greek workmanship dating from the Fifth Century. One in the Metropolitan Museum[190] has on the flat side a Nereid bearing Achilles' helmet, as she rides a dolphin.

The Dolphin in Painting

The paintings which have come down to us are, with the exception of Etruscan works, all from Roman or Graeco-Roman sources, and por-

[186] No. 21.88.39.
[187] Nos. 98.795 (Lion), and 95.92 (Nereid).
[188] *Br. Mus. Cat. Jewellery*, Pl. LIV, Nos. 2626–2627.
[189] Metropolitan Museum, Roman Garden, Case W2, No. 17.194.456.
[190] *Ibid.* No. 25.78.89. *Cf. Br. Mus. Cat. Jewellery*, Pl. XL, No. 2067.

tray the dolphin in the Elaborate Curvilinear Type, with the most fantastic variations. An enumeration is unnecessary, as there is no single example which stands out because of its artistic interest. The occurrence of the dolphin in Greek painting may be assumed from its prominent rôle in the decoration of vases. This assumption is confirmed by literary references from Philostratus and Aristides. Although there is some question whether Philostratus was describing actual paintings, still we may with a good deal of safety suppose that he had a type in mind. The references follow:

Aristides, ed. Dindorf, Leipzig, 1829, Vol. I, p.46. Drawings or paintings of Palaemon on the dolphin.

Philostratus, *Imagines*, ed. Benndorf-Schenkel, Leipzig, 1893:

I. 8. 1. Amymone. Dolphins and hippocamps.
I. 19. 5. The Tyrrhenian Pirates.
I. 19. 6. Arion and the dolphins.
Palaemon sleeping on a dolphin.
II. 3. 4. Hippolytus. Dolphins symbolize the sea.
II. 16. 2. Palaemon sleeping on a dolphin.
II. 18. 4. Galatea driving four yoked dolphins.

MOSAICS

Like the paintings which have come down to us, the mosaic floorings date from the Hellenistic and Roman periods. They are exceedingly numerous and the dolphin is one of the stock motifs. Only in rare instances is it used with any degree of grace, and for the most part, even such well-known examples as the dolphins in the great tableaux of Amphitrite and Neptune in the Thermae at Ostia are uninteresting and without artistic merit. Figures of Poseidon, and heads of Oceanus with dolphins escaping from his beard, abound. A little epigram describes a mosaic representing the former, with his caerulean brow bound with two dolphins.[191]

MACHINES KNOWN AS δελφῖνες

The ancient war and merchant ships carried massive lumps of lead or rock which could be swung from the sailyards, and let fall upon an attacking enemy ship for the purpose of smashing through its bottom and thus sinking it.[192] The missiles were known as δελφῖνες,

[191] *Carmina Latina Epigraphica*, in *Anthologia Latina*, ed. Buecheler, Leipzig, 1897, Vol. II, 2, No. 1524.

[192] Torr, *Ancient Ships*, 93–94.

and the sailyards which carried them as δελφινοφόροι. Literary references to this are:

Aristophanes, *Knights*, 761-762, δελφῖνες.

Scholion to Aristophanes, *Knights, ibid.* δελφίς and δελφινοφόροι.

Pollux, *Onomasticon*, I, 86.

Thucydides, VII, 41, δελφινοφόροι.

A hydraulic machine called *delphinus* is mentioned by Vitruvius, X, 8, 7 and 24.

Oppian, *Hal.* III, 290, and IV, 81, mentions δελφίς, a fisherman's device made of lead, which is used for the animation of dead bait.

The Dolphin as a Heraldic Device on Objects other than Armor

The beautiful type of the Syracusan decadrachms is not only repeated upon vases, but it is also found upon a proxenos stele where it appears as the coat of arms of Syracuse.[193] Another form of stele is found in those erected by the theori of Cyrene along their route to the Temple of Zeus Ammon.[194] These stelae were offerings to the god, and bore a dolphin device similar to the coin of Cyrene.[195]

The dolphin was the seal of the Legio XXII Primigenia in Germany after 89 A.D.[196]

CONCLUSION

The evolution of the dolphin in art has been followed through from the earliest representations of the Pisciform Type in Crete to the florid style of the Roman Empire. Each of these is as far from the dolphin in Nature as it is possible for it to be and remain recognizable, and the two styles are, figuratively speaking, poles apart. As we look back over the examples of the dolphin in both Greek and Roman art, it is evident that its value as an accessory decorative motif has quite as much to do with the frequency with which it is used, as does its symbolic meaning. In fact, the feeling of symbolism definitely retreats behind the decorative element in the art of the later periods. This may possibly account for the increasingly fantastic modifications of the animal, especially in Roman art.

Although it is, with rare exceptions, always accessory, there are certain instances where the representation of the dolphin is a work

[193] *B.C.H.* XX, 1896, 555, fig. 4.

[194] Strabo, I, 49, 4.

[195] Babelon, *Traité des Monnaies grecques et romaines*, Paris, 1910, II, 1, No. 2002.

[196] Koepp, *Die Roemer in Deutschland*, Bielefeld und Leipzig, 1905, 69.

of art worthy of the main theme of the picture in which it is placed. The cylix by Execias in Munich is one of these instances, the other is the decadrachm of Syracuse by Evaenetus. On this wonderful coin, the type of dolphin invented by the artist who some fifty years before designed the Demareteia, is closely followed. The late Fifth Century engraver could not do more than impart to his own coin an added grace which the age of experience commanded over the age of invention. The dolphins on the Demareteia are the handiwork of a master who did not hold the mirror up to Nature, but who had the genius to observe the dolphin in real life, and then to put down its shape with an accuracy which was always subject to his sense of form and of the requirements of composition. He lived in a period when these elements of artistic creation were just beginning to balance each other, and his work shows him to have been a pioneer of his times.

Unfortunately, the examples of dolphins which exhibit the sense of proportion of their creators are rare. They are the fillers of space, the accessory symbols, and seldom receive the careful treatment, even in the best periods, that the masters bestowed upon their principal theme. A study of dolphins in art is, accordingly, not too inspiring. We have already seen in the second chapter that the dolphin of the Simple Curvilinear Type expresses the motion of the animal by the use of the concave ventral outline, which does not occur in Nature. A comparison of the entire series, from the Early Minoan dolphin of the Pisciform Type, to the curliest animal on a terra-sigillata bowl, with the mammal of the manuals on biology, makes one fact evident beyond dispute. In no case did the Greeks or the Romans make realistic representations of dolphins. In the earlier periods their inability to observe Nature prevented them from doing so, and when they had sufficient experience to copy from life, they chose to do otherwise. The result is that from the hands of great artists like Execias and Evaenetus we have dolphins that are far more beautiful than any realistic work, for they embody in their simple curves which conform so perfectly to the composition as a whole, the spirit of gracious play of the friendly sea animal. They are the ideal of the dolphin in terms of art.

The dolphin in literature does not, perforce, fare so badly as the dolphin in art. Its treatment readily falls into two great groups, the stories, and the allusions in figures of speech. The former are simple, pretty for the most part, and childish. The latter range from the grandiose follies of Nonnus to the pretty foolishness of Mar-

tianus Capella. The greater artists use the figure sparingly, seeming to feel, as did Evaenetus, the restraints imposed by a sense of proportion. Homer barely touches upon it, and Aristophanes makes fun of Euripides for using it too fancifully. To two Romans falls the honor of employing the dolphin most effectively in literature. Nowhere is the swiftness of the animal more beautifully expressed than in Pliny's words, *ocior volucre, acrior telo*, while the music of Vergil's line is a note to be remembered always:

Orpheus in silvis, inter delphinas Arion.

INDEX

Accius, 92, 93.
Achilles, 88, 117, 127.
Achilles-Painter, 104.
Aeginetans, compared to Dolphins, 93.
Aelian, 1, 3, 4, 6, 7, 23, 62, 67, 70, 74, 75, 88, 89, 91, 92, 94, 116, 125.
Aeneas, 96.
Aes Grave, 126.
Aesop, 77, 88, 90, 91.
Aglaosthenes, 85.
Agrippa, 120, 123, 124.
Alcidamas, 71, 72.
Alcimus Ecdicius Avitus, 127.
Alciphron, 91.
Alexander the Great, 70, 71.
Ambrosios-Painter, cylix by, 8.
Ammianus Marcellinus, 92, 94.
Amphitrite, 77, 84, 85, 106, 117.
Amphorae, Panathenaic, 101.
Amymone, 84, 128.
Andocides, Potter, 104.
Anecdota Oxon., 67.
Anthologia Pal. 67, 73, 87, 90, 91, 94.
Antigonus Carystius, 66, 70, 92.
Antipater of Thessalonica, 90.
Antiphilus of Byzantium, 73.
Anyte Lyrica, 90.
Aphaia, 80.
Aphrodite, 36, 83; Anadyomene, 118; from Aphrodisias, 122; Euploia, 86.
Apion, 76.
Apollo, 65, 81; Delian, 34, 53, 55; Delphinius, 22, 31, 43, 48, 56, 63, 77, 78, 80, 81, 104; Hymn to Pythian, 46, 79, 80; Leucadius, 81.
Apollodorus, 61.
Apuleius, 64, 68.
Aratus, 68, 80, 85, 87, 94.
Archias, 87, 91.
Arion, 5, 11, 32, 66, 73, 85, 87, 91, 93, 94, 116, 128, 131.
Aristides, 67, 128.
Aristophanes, 84, 90, 91, 93, 129, 131.
Aristotle, 1, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 16, 65, 66, 70, 76, 85, 89, 91, 92, 125.
Artemidorus, 46, 90, 95.
Artemis, Delphinia, 35, 81; Dictynna, 35, 56, 57, 77, 80.
Atargatis-Dolphin, 66.
Athenaeus, 8, 62, 70, 84, 89.
Athenian Lecythi, 82; Lead Mina, 126; White Lecythus, 110.
Augustus, Statue from Primaporta, 120.
Ausonius, 94.
Avienus, 85, 87, 94.

Babrius, 90.
Bacchylides, 77, 88, 106.
Baths of Agrippa, 123.
Berlin Amphora, Master of, 104.
Bianor, 67.
Bologna Boreas, Painter of, 105.
Boy with Winged Feet, 88.

Callistratus of Carthage, 77.
Cassiodorus, 93, 124.
Cassius Dio, 120, 123, 124.
Cephisodotus, son of Praxiteles, 118.
Certamen Homeri et Hesiodi, 72.
Chelis, 99, 105.
Cicero, 68, 85, 91, 94.
Circus Flaminius, 117; Maximus, 115.
Claudian, 60, 65.
Clement of Alexandria, 68.
Clitias, 99.
Coeranus, 62.
Coins, Ambracia, 118, 121; Commodus, 73; Iasus, 125; Nicomedia, 73; Sinope, 115; Syracuse, 6, 11, 16, 18, 29, 114, 121, 125, 130; Tarentum, 125.
Columella, 85.
Constantine Manasses, 93.
Contest between Athena and Poseidon, 109.
Cornificius Longus, 78, 79.
Coryphaena Hippurus L., 8.

Damophon, 107.
Delos, House of Dolphins, 125.
Delphi, Founding of, 85.
Delphinia, Festival of, 81.

Delphinium, Founding of, 79, 80, 81.
Delphinius, Month, 78, 81.
Delphyne, 81.
Demeter, 107; Melaina, 84, 116.
Diogenianus, 90.
Dionysus, 60, 64, 65, 70, 71, 81, 107; Epiphany of, 10, 72, 77; Hymn to, 9, 61; Phallen, 66.

Egg, 36.
Enalus, 66.
Epictetus, 101, 106.
Eratosthenes, 72, 85.
Ergotimus, see Clitias.
Eros, 82, 83, 87; Dolphin-rider, 83, 118, 119, 120.
Etymologicum Mag., 79, 80.
Euergides, 99.
Eumathius, 88.
Euphorion, 76.
Euphronius, 106.
Euripides, 91, 93, 131.
Eurynome, 81.
Eustathius, see Eumathius.
Euthymides, 106.
Evaenetus, 114, 130, 131.
Execias, 9, 10, 12, 13, 16, 98, 100, 104, 130.

Fortuna, 86.
Fronto, 68, 90, 116.

Galatea, 87, 128.
Galen, 8.
Gellius, 68, 72, 76, 116, 119.
Gem with spouting dolphin, 3.
Germanicus, 85.
Gregory of Nyssa, 89.

Hermes Trismegistus, 83, 89.
Hermias, 70.
Hermippus, 80, 85.
Hero and Leander, 87.
Herodes Atticus, 116.
Herodotus, 68, 116.
Hesiod, 3, 71, 95.
Hieron, 106.
Hippocamps, 87.
Hippolytus, 128.
Homer, 89, 93, 96, 131.
Horace, 60.
Hyacinthus, 76.
Hyginus, 61, 67, 68, 85, 87, 88, 106, 116, 117.
Hysmine, 88.

Iasus, Boy at, 6, 76, 116.
Icadius, 78.
Ichthys acrostic, 82.
Ino, 63.
Ion, 90.
Isidor, 5, 46, 94.
Isis, 86; Tyche, 86.
Issoria, 81.

Jesus, 82.
Juvenal, 124.

Laevius, 87.
Leander, see Hero and Leander.
Legio XXII Primigenia, Seal of, 129.
Leonidas of Byzantium, 75.
Leucadian Leap, 81, 82.
Leucothea, 64.
Libanius, 68.
Livius Andronicus, 5.
Livy, 124.
Lucan, 46.
Lucian, 62, 64, 68, 84, 91, 95, 125.
Lucilius, 90, 94.
Lycophron, 60.
Lysicrates, Choregic Monument of, 121.
Lysippus, 122.

Macron, 106.
Magna Mater, 86.
Manilius, 86, 93, 94.
Marcellinus, 68.
Marcellus, 127.
Martial, 68.
Martianus Capella, 69, 91, 130.
Melantho, 84.
Melicertes, 32, 63, 67, 76, 109, 111, 116.
Menon-Painter, 10, 108.
Minoan Goddess, 34.
Mithras, 120.
Moschus, 93.

Myrsilus of Lesbos, 66.
Mythographus Vaticanus I, 69.
Mythographus Vaticanus II, 61.

Neptune, 117.
Nereids, 87; on Dolphins, 117, 127; Nereid Monument, 117.
Nereus, 87, 95, 101, 105.
Nero Imperator, 88.
Nicolaus of Damascus, 95.
Nicolaus the Sophist, 68, 116.
Nicosthenes, 98, 99.
Nonnus Panopolitanus, 60, 61, 84, 85, 87, 95, 130.

Oceanus, 128.
Odysseus, 76.
Odyssey, 90.
Old Man of the Sea, 100, 105, 120.
Oltus, 108, 118.
Onatas, 65, 116, 117.
Oppian, 1, 8, 62, 68, 74, 75, 85, 89, 90, 92, 94, 129.
Orion, 80.
Orpheus, Wafting of Head of, 66.
Orphica, 87.
Ovid, 3, 60, 61, 69, 84, 86, 87, 88, 93, 94.

Palaemon, see Melicertes.
Palaemon, 128.
Palladas, 87.
Pamphaeus, 108.
Pancrates, 89.
Panaetius-Painter, 106.
Pausanias, 64, 65, 66, 68, 75, 84, 116, 122, 124.
Persephone, 80.
Persius, 88.
Phalanthus, see Taras.
Phalanthus, 116, 117.
Philes, 3, 91.
Philo Judaeus, 73.
Philostratus, 116, 128.
Philoxenus, 87.
Phylarchus, 63.
Pindar, 64, 92, 93, 94.
Plato, 67, 87, 90.
Plautus, 94.
Pliny, 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 69, 71, 72, 74, 75, 76, 86, 89, 91, 92, 94, 95, 117, 127, 131.
Pliny the Younger, 74.
Plutarch, 56, 62, 63, 64, 66, 68, 71, 72, 76, 77, 80, 89, 90, 92, 93, 125.
Pluto, 80.
Pollux, 71, 125, 129.
Polyphemus, 87.
Pomponius Porphyrio, 104.
Porphyrius, 62.
Portus Delphini, 95.
Poseidon, 64, 65, 66, 70, 71, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 106, 108, 111, 117, 120, 122, 125, 128; Alexikakos, 23;-Areion, 66; carrying dolphin, 48; of Lysippus, 117; Mesopontios, 66.
Probus, 69.
Proclus, 72.
Propertius, 61, 69, 76, 94.
Proxenus Stele, 129.
Pseudo-Dioscurides, 95.
Pseudo-Eratosthenes, 85, 117.
Pseudo-Ovidius, 69.
Puteoli, Boy of, 6.
Pytho, 81.

Quindecimviri, 79, 81.
Quintilian, 69.

Rufus, Q. Curtius, 94.

Sarcophagi with Representation of Roman Circus, 123.
Saronia, 81.
Scopas, 117.
Scylla, 90, 95.
Seneca, 61, 93, 94.
Sepulchral Reliefs, 123.
Serapis, 80, 86.
Servius, 78, 79, 80.
Silvanus-Pantheus, 86.
Solinus, 5, 6, 7, 69, 71, 74, 76, 91, 92.
C. Sollius Apollinaris Sidonius, 87.
Spina, 120.
St. Basil the Younger, 77.
St. Lucian, 72.

St. Martian, 77.
Statius, 65, 87, 88, 92, 94.
Stesichorus, 76.
Stobaeus, 83.
Strabo, 23, 68, 77, 95.
Suetonius, 91.
Symeon Metaphrastus, 72.

Taras, 63, 109, 125; Attributes of, 65; Group of Taras and Phalanthus by Onatas, 65.
Tarentum, Bridal Altars from, 122.
Tarentines, Dedicatory Offering of, at Delphi, 117.
Telemachus, 76.
Telephus Frieze, 121.
Tertullian, 124.
Testamentum Epictetae, 79.
Theocritus, 87.
Theon, 68, 85.
Theophrastus, 71, 72, 92.
Thermae at Ostia, 128.
Theseum, 117.
Theseus, 77, 85, 88, 106, 111.
Thetis, 88, 117.
Thucydides, 129.
Tibullus, 88.
Tigranes, M. Perennius, 114.
Timagoras, 100.
Titus, 120.
Tritons, 87; Triton of the Hecatompedon, 120.
Tunny, 23, 24.
Tyrrhenian Pirates, 9, 61, 67, 85, 121, 128.
Tzetzes, 64, 68, 71, 74, 75, 76, 80.
Tzetzes, Johannes, 72.

Valerius Flaccus, 88.
Varro, 86, 104.
Venus, 123; of Cyrene, 119; Medicean, 12, 117; Panthea, 86.
Vergil, 68, 69, 89, 93, 95, 96, 131.
Villa of Hadrian, 123.
Vitruvius, 86, 129.

Wrestling of Peleus and Thetis, 105.

Xenophantus the Athenian, 109.
Xenophon, 8.

Zonaras, 23.

VITA

Eunice Burr Stebbins, a native of New York State, was educated in private schools in Germany, in private and public schools in France, and at Miss Capen's School for Girls in Northampton, Massachusetts. She graduated from Smith College in 1916 with the degree of Bachelor of Arts. She attended the lectures of the American Academy in Rome during the year 1920–1921, and studied at Columbia University in 1919–1920 and 1924–1925. In 1925 she undertook full time graduate work at the Johns Hopkins University under Professor D. M. Robinson, receiving the degree of Master of Arts in 1926, and that of Doctor of Philosophy in 1927. During both of the academic years of her study at the Johns Hopkins University she enjoyed a University Scholarship.

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